

A VVatch-vvoord to *Englande*

To beware of traytours and
trecherous practises, which haue
beene the ouerthrowe of many
famous Kingdomes and
common weales.

*Written by a faithfull affected
freend to his Country: who desireth God long
to blesse it from Traytours, and their
secret conspiracies.*

Seene and allowed, according to the order ap-
pointed in the *Queenes Injunctions.*

Iosua. 1. verse. 5.

¶ Take a good hart, and be strong, feare not, I say feare
not: because that I which am the Lord thy
God will be with thee in all
thine affayres.

LONDON
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are to be solde at his shop in *Lumberd streete*,
vnder the signe of the Popes
head. 1584.



G. STEEVENS.

Anglia qua gestat Regni præcipua felix.

Est pagina hac oculis forma notata tuis.

Anglorum clypeos, Insignia Martia cernis.

Aptatur meritis digna corona bonis.





In laudem *Elyzabethæ*
Reginæ.

T*urba maligna papa tibi terra Britanna minatur;
Non minus illa ferox Elyzabetha tibi.
Insidijs una es sauis elapsa tyranni,
Te magijs, ferro, sortibus atque tetrīs
Tollere conatus serpens: sed quid furor ardens
Profuit? es Christi, qui tuus unus erat.
Ingenium, pietas, virtus te ex omnibus unam
Esse docent, in quam nil potuere mali.
Exemplis varijs opere hoc est res manifesta,
In quo nudantur facta nefanda virum.
Elyzabetha Deo fidas (ut caperis) uni;
Hostes contundet, teque tuosque teget.*

R. W.





☞ To the high, mightie, and right excellent Princeſſe, Elyzabeth, *by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce and Ireland Queene, defendreſſe of the true, auncient, Catholique and Apoſtolique Faith, &c. A. M.* her Maieſties
moſt humble Subiect and Seruaunt
wiſheth continuall felicitie in
this world, and in the
world to come.
(..)



He conſideration of your rare and incomparable Vertues, which are ſuch Jewelles of eſtimation in the eyes and eares of your faithfull Subiectes, and the care how to continue and enioye them long, which is the ſtudy and practiſe of all them that truly honour you; hath conſtrayned me at this tyme (right excellent and famous Queene) to exceede the boundes of ordinarie loue, which is onelie but to pleaſe the eye, and to wade into the depth of intire affection, wherewith the heart may be oftentimes quieted, but hardly throughlie ſatiſſied, by reaſon
the

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

the conceite taketh so deepe an impression, and euery cause concerneth it so neerely, as, what with hazard of perill, and feare to forgoe, affection is so vehement, as nothing can goe beyond it.

Let then (most noble Queene) this my poore affection, carie that credite in your Princely minde, as your nature affoordeth to euerie louing Subiect, and let such account be helde of my earnest intent, as both the waigh-tinesse of the cause, and circumstances of the whole considered, shall aelyuer reason. I (in the meane time) shall continue in prayer, that long this Land may be partaker of your gratiouse presence, and the good will of euery true Subiect may be thankfully entertained.

Your Highnesse obedient
Subiect and Seruaunt.

A. M.

To the right Honou-
 rable Master Thomas Pullison, Lord
 Mayor elected of the famous Cittie of
 London, and to the worshipfull Maister Stephen
 Slanie, and Maister Henrie Billingsley, She-
 riffes of the same Cittie, with all the
 rest of their worshipfull
 Brethren.



E finde it by common
 experience (right Honorable
 and Worshipfull) and the
 effectes are too much scene
 and proued amongst vs, that
 as there are many dangerous
 diseases, which happen to a
 mans body, wherof some are
 so hurtfull to the same, and worke by such outragi-
 ous meanes, as they not onely threaten great hazard
 of death to the body, but at length (after many calme
 showers) doo vtterly waste and deprive it of lyfe. So
 in a kingdome or common wealth, which maye by
 comparifon very well be resembled to a mans body,
 there often chaunceth very sore and doubtfull sick-
 nesses, which growe in tyme to such forcible and ex-
 treame occasions: as they not onely daunger the pe-
 rishing of the most part, but in conclusion worke the
 vtter ruine and destruction of the whole. Yet when
 the body is offended by sicknesse, the freendes of the
 diseased party do diligently enquire after Phisitions:

A comparison
 betweene a mans
 body and a com-
 mon wealth.

A.i

then

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

then what medicines his Arte can deuise, or what wholesome potions good counsell can minister, are presently prepared for ease of his vexation.

All men are
bound in dutie
to defend their
Countrie.

In like manner, in any common wealth, that is thus touched with any disease that foresheweth peryll: euery one that is faithfully affected to the same, or imploy theyr liues (as they ought) for the benefite thereof, are bound with heedfull care to seeke remedy for such malladies, yea, it is a principall article of theyr duety, to let slip no occasion that may be iudged helpfull in such a case. For if freendshippe cause men for theyr priuate familiars sake, to trauayle in knowledge of the cause of his infirmity, and then to prouide such apt necessities, as may yeelde hope to qualifie his agony, and restore him to his former health: much more ought duety to be effectuell in such men, as make estimation of theyr Country and common wealth, at what tyme any troublesome annoyance dooth mollest it, or any daunger whatsoever may be thought towards it: to shew themselves earnest and forward in search of the greefe, and then to apply such due and necessary medicines, as may expell the very thought of threatned daunger.

Herodotus in
his Booke called
Clio, which is
the first Booke
of his Storie,

The excellent Historiographer *Herodotus* sheweth vs a notable example, how the *Babylonians* made this lawe amongst them, that when so euer any man fell sicke within their dominions, he should presently be brought into the market place, & there be laid on his bed: to the intent that he might demaund of euery one that came to him, whether they had beene troubled with the lyke disease or no, and by what means they recouered theyr health, that he might by knowledge thereof,

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

thereof attayne to the same . And by the same lawe
lykewise, euery man that came to him was bound,
both to aske the man what sicknesse he had: and al-
so to shew him (if it lay in him to doo it) what might
soonest delyuer him from that state . By which ex-
ample, euery one that beareth a true & faithful zeale
to his Countrie, and earnestly tendereth the health
and wealth thereof: when so euer he seeth the body
thereof (which lyeth open before all mens eyes) to
be infected or touched with any infirmitie, and can
eyther by experience or otherwise delyuer, what in
his conceit may be imagined auayleable: he is bound
in conscience to expresse it, and great is the penaltie
if he conceale it . For in helping the whole body, he
hath benefite therof himselfe, in that he is a member
thereof: for let the body be sicke, the members must
needes be partakers of the greefe, and at what tyme it
findeth health againe, the members likewise haue
comfort by the releefe . The consideration of these
precedentes (right Honourable and Worthyfull)
with the earnest care, zeale and loue I beare to my
Countrie, which I see (for the happy and flourishing
estate therof, and for the maintenaunce of Gods true
Religion, and defence of his Church and congregati-
on) wanteth no enemies to pursue the daunger of it,
nor coullorable freendes that seeke to betraye it to
spoyle, which could they as easilie accomplishe, as
they willinglie put in practise, and had not GOD
more care of his chosen, then their malicious sto-
mackes can affoord: God knowes the heauie burden
should lye on our necks, which I pray God they ne-
uer liue to lay on, nor we to feele.

The whole body
being out of qui-
et, the members
must needes fare
the worse.

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

The marke that
these Traytours
ayme at, may be
easily discerned.

But as the marke is easilie scene, which they so mightilie and continuallie ayme at, and for that God (prayed be his name therefore) hath hytherto preuented all their trayterous attempts, turning their daggers into their owne bosomes, and causing them to fall into the pitte they made for others: so is it expedient for vs to continue in prayer, that it may please him long to vouchsafe that prouident care ouer vs, and that we lykewise applie our owne duectifull wisdom and pollicie, to vphold that plant by whose meanes we prosper, and preuent their deuises, who would robbe vs of so high a treasure.

The whole body
being out of this
at the members
must needs be
the worse.

It is our dread and soueraigne Lady, whose shyning vertues fret the polluted eyes of these vnnaturall Subiectes: whose heroleall gouernement (which no Realme in the world is able to match for peaceable continuance) that sticketh lyke sharpe needles in their venoumed and disdainefull stomackes; and it is the rare president of her famous lyfe, her Christian zeale, and aboundaunce of all excellent giftes, which woorthelie winneth the heartes of her true Subiectes, and inflameth them with desire of her long prosperitie, that calling their barbarous conceits into question, thundreth such Maiestie into their deceyued eares, as they pollishe theyr tongues to depraue, spare no penne-worke to slaunder, whette their weapons, and deuise all trectheries that lost and forsaken mindes can doo, to extinguishe the lyght of that Sunne, whereon their seared consciences wyll not suffer them to looke, and to deface that perfect Emerald, which the more they seeke to blemishe with the oyle of venemous reportes, the more perfect

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

fect it sheweth it selfe in beautie.

I neede not report vnto you, for that your wisdomes and iudgementes are verie well acquainted therewith, that the prosperitie of the Prince, is the assured safetie of the whole Kingdome and common wealth, and the least motion of greefe that toucheth her, concerneth the whole state ingenerall; by reason that her Highnesse is the most louing Mother and Nurse of all her good Subiectes, and is likewise the husband of the common weale, married to the Realme, and the same by ceremony of Ring as solemnly signified, as any other marriage.

The prosperity of the Prince, is the safetie of her Kingdome.

Can we then that are her Maiesties chyldren, her true and faithfull subiectes endure to see our mother wronged, her authoritie defamed, her lyfe endaungered: and shall we not thinke the same concerneth vs? Can we see proud reprobates seeke to seuer the knot of loue and agreement, which hath beene iustly and lawfully vnited betweene her and vs, to yeelde our liues in flauerie and seruitude to an vsurping tyrant: and shall not the breach of this bonde of sacred wedlocke, moue vs to regard how highly it harmeth vs? Nature causeth the chylde to worke all policies he may for his Mothers defence, and the estimation of that holy league of loue, is of force to compell the faithfull, to maintaine and continue it.

The case then touching vs. so neerelie as it dooth, the verie meanest subiect is bound for his Princes defence, much more they whome God hath called to office of Magistracie and bearing rule: their care ought to be both night and daye, how to set downe

The care of the Princes safetie concerneth the verie meanest Subiect, much more the Magistrate, to whome

A.iii.

good

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

the hath given
office of honour.

good lawes and orders, to be vigilant and carefull in dilligent search and enquirie, to bring such stubborne and gracelesse men to open lyght, who spurne at her Maiestie, that hath put the Sworde in your handes of honour and authoritie, and trying theyr deedes to be contrarie to the duetie of good Subiectes, to let them be soone cutte off by the sword of Iustice.

And if I maye (without offence) speake one word to your Honour and VVorshippes, not by waye of teaching, but for vnlading some part of the burden of true loue I beare to my Countrie: I would desire you to haue an especiall eye to the Cittie of London, for it is a receptacle to many of these bad people, and many fauourers & freends they haue in the Cittie, who bearing the countenance of good and honest Subiectes, are neuerthelesse but hollowe hearted, and giue aide and releefe to such as seeke the ruine of the whole state.

Your Honour and VVorships shall notablie witness the loue you beare to God and his Church, and the zeale, affection and ductie you owe to her Maiestie: in being respectiue to this especiall cause, for it is high tyme, the enemies are nowe growne so bolde and full of mischeefe, as if such as are in authority doo not laye too theyr helping handes to repress them, they will in tyme be so wylde, as they will be past bridling.

This shall be therefore my last request vnto you, that the premisses considered, the effect may be put in execution: and when you haue perused this smal worke,

To the Lord Mayor, &c.

worke, I doubt not but you will thinke my request
honest and lawfull, and expedient to be redressed
to the vttermost of your powers . Thus wishing
prosperous successe to all you goe about, that
may set foorth Gods glory, and be to her
Maiesties defence from her eni-
mies : I humbly take
my leaue.

*Your Honours and Wor-
ships well-willer.*

A. M.



To the Lord Mayor, &c.

work, I doubt not but you will think my request
honest and lawful, and expedient to be redressed
to the wisdom of your powers. Thus wishing
propitious success to all your good about, that
may forthwith Gods glory, and be to her
Majesties defence from her ene-
mies: I humbly take
my leave.

Your Honours and Wor-
ships well-wisher.

A. M.





A VVatch-vvoord to Englande.



TH E state of this Realme considered, and specially, such accidentes touching the same, as late troubles haue ministred, doe make it daylie more and more euident, how precious and how deere a Jewell is the safety of the Quéenes most excellent Maiestie, our most louing and beloued Soueraigne Ladie. Compare the tyme of her most noble and gracions gouernement, with the times and ages long since past and gone, and especially with the miserable and daungerous daies, immediatlie preceding her most happie, princelie and comfortable raigne: call to mind the weaknes & perilles wherin the common weale stode, before the comming of her highnesse to the Crowne: weigh the infinite benefites, both bodilie and ghostlie that the whole Realme hath, and all her Subjects both haue had, and doe enioy by her meanes: thinke vpon the gréuous and vspeakeable miseries, that wee all shall be lyke to sustaine by the losse of her vnua- luable presence. It shalbe plaine, that he is wilfully blinde that cannot see: he is wickedlie malicious, that will not acknowledge: he is obstinately stone hearted, that will not with sorowe and trembling déepelie imprint in carefull heart,

W. J.

The safetie of
her Maiestie, a
thing most pre-
cious to all good
Subiectes.

A Watch-woord

The Queens Ma-
iesties gouerne-
ment, ought with
heede full care to
be considered.

The Queens Ma-
iestie, a luell of
most high esti-
mation, to the

heart, those motions and thoughts, that such consideration shall lay befoze him. Remember the quiet of conscience, the comfort of true seruing of **G D D**, the fradome of the Realme, the deliuerance of soules from fozeine thzaldome, the escape of the heauie yoke of straunge Dominion, the reconerie of wealth, the benefite of peace, the common and equall distribution of Justice, the familiar cherishing of Nobilitie, the good preserving and loue of the Commonaltie, the mutuall and tender kindnes at home, the amitie and awe abzoade: the swæte enioying of all these happy commodities: match heere with the daunger and feare of losing them, how can it then be, but that the minde shalbe mervailouslie distracted: Great and full of diuersities are the fittes of a passioned Louer: but yet greatest where reason ruleth least. Farre greater to a good minde must be the panges of consideration in this case: but yet greatest where reason ruleth most. The sillie Louer is transported (as they complaine poore soules in their ditties) sometime with ioy of his enioying, sometime with feare of his foregoing, there is no meane or order of his excessive affection: and all is because the abused creature hath set his felicity in a wrong conceite. But if such vaine, short, repentable, and fæble delight of fancie, haue such force vpon the minde of man: howe much more ought the deepe, wise, naturall, and true impression of the eternall comfort of the soule, the good and safe estate, both of the common weale, and of the priuate hauiour of himselfe, and of those thinges and persons that he holdeth dearest, yea, and of his posteritie for ever, worke more mighty, violent, & continuall effects in the mind of an honest good man, that setteth his thoughtes vpon iust and assured groundes: All these contemplations cannot but fill a good Christians, and a good Subjects eie with sight and knowledge, how vnestimable a treasure our noble and vertuous Quæene Elizabeth is to the Realme of *England*, and the same cannot but pierce his heart with strong feare & care for her preservation, so farre as surelie it were able (as in the dumbe borne
sonne

sonne of Cresus) breake the stringes of a tyed tongue, to drawe speeche out of the most barbarous and rudest Subject: to crie out at her Highnesse peryll, and with such noyse as he is able to make, though it were but as a Goose of the Capitole, to giue warning to the watchmen of the Tower of our safetie. This hath moued me to forget how vnskylfull and howe vnapt I am, to treat of matters so farre aboue me: and only to remember, how meet it is for all men to thinke of those things that touch them so neerely, & when they haue from point to point made due examination of them, to ring out the larumbell of good counsell to their Country, or giue them some watch-woord of passed perils, wherby they may the better pzenent imminent extremities: wherein they may both manifest the care they haue of their Princes safetie, as also the vnfeined affection they beare to their Countrie. It hath bene, and yet remaineth extant to be seene, the many and sundrie disordered attemptes, which haue threatned daunger to her Maiesties most royall person, and perill to the whole state in generall, whereby many good mindes haue bene greatlie discomforted, and those bad spirites, which haue thirsted and laboured in these vnduetifull actions, haue bene encouraged to runne on in their disloyall determinations. A thing much to be lamented, that in the Sun-shine of so many happy blessings, whereof this Realme (so long time together) neuer heeretofore tasted, such wicked and malitious natures should breede amongst vs, both to ouerthrowe our selues, and the quietnesse of a number well affected. It is good for such wilfull heads to take heede in time, and that the ouerthrowe of such seditious practises (werewith this Realme from time to time hath bene too much troubled) may remaine for a warning to them: and in middest of their secret confederacies to remember this, that to exalt their hearts against Gods annointed, is the perie ready way to bring them selues to confusion. The onelie roote and originall of such vnnaturall humours in men, is Treason, which of all other things is most odious

Realme of
England.

Res est sollicita

Plena timoris

amor.

The Realme of
England neuer
so long tyme to
gether, more
godly & quiet
gouerned.

A Watch-woord

In the sight of God, and amongst men hath least prosperous successe: for p^{ro}se wherof, and because this Watch-woord may the more deepe^{ly} enter the thoughtes and cogitations of them, to whose hands it shall happen, it shall not be much amisse for me to make repetition of former treacherous practises, and withall to declare their end and successe, which happilie may cause some men to alter their bad affections, and seeing the accidentes that hath heeretofore chaunced in their owne Countrie, they may forsake those contrarie natures whereby they are gouerned, and so in time shew themselues more vehement in duetie.

In the raigne of King Richard *the first.*

William Fitz-
Osbert got him
a trayterous com-
pany, & rebelled
against the King.
1196.

There was one William Fitz Osbert a Cittizen of London, a man but of p^oore and meane degree, yet endued with a quicke witte and an eloquent tongue (as many of these secrete perswaders are) he perswaded the people to sake libertie and freedome, and so p^{ro}vided himselfe of two and fiftie thousand Londoners to rise against the King. And to maintaine his traiterous enterprise, he toke the Steeple of Bowe Church in Chepe, and fortified it with Munition and victualles: but in the end the Church was assaulted by the Cittizens, and William with his Complices were taken, and so brought to the Archbishoppe in the Tower, where he was condemned, & by the heeles drawne from thence to a place called the Elmes, where he was hanged with nine of his fellowes.

In the raigne of King Henrie *the thirde.*

A Scholler of
Oxford attemp-

King Henrie the third lying at Woodstocke, a Scholler of Oxforde sayning himselfe mad, enterprised to haue
aine

slaine the King in his Chamber : but he was taken, and led to kyll the
after long imprisonment, was torne in peces with horses King. 1339.
at Couentrie.

In the raigne of King Edward the second.

There was one Iohn Poydras, a Tanners sonne of Ex-
cester, who in diuers places of England named himselfe Iohn Poydras, a
the sonne of King Edward the first, and saide, that by a Tanners sonne of
false Purse he was stolen forth of his Cradle, and Ed- Excester, claimed
ward that then was King put in his place : but shortly af- to be King.
ter he was conuict of his vntueth, when he confessed, that 1316.
he did it by the motion of a familiar spirite, which he had
in his house in the likenesse of a Catte, whome he had ser-
ued for threë yeres (as all Traitors els forget God, and
serue the deuill) but for this his seruice, he was not long
after, hanged at North-hampton.

Edward de Brui the King of Scottes Brother, who for Edward de Brui
the space of threë yeres had assaulted Ireland, and vniustly for vniustly crow
blorping the King of Englands title, crowned himself King ning himselfe,
thereof : was at length taken by the King of Englands sub- King of Ireland,
iectes, and was beheaded at Dundalke. was beheaded.
1317.

The Towne of Berwicke was betrayed to the Scots, They that be-
through the Treason of Peter Spalding, and other Eng- traied the Towne
lish men: whome the King of Scottes (in reward of their of Berwick, were
tretcherie) caused to be hanged, for being Traitors to hanged for theyr
their owne Countrie. labour. 1317.

Thomas Earle of Lancaster, hauing prouided himselfe Thomas Earle of
of a great number of his confederacie, rebelled against Lancaster behea-
King Edward the second, whereupon the King pursued ded, for rebels
the Rebelles, and at Borovubridge the saide Earle of Lan- ling against the
caster, with Lordes, Knightes and other, to the number of King: and many
threë score and fve were taken. All these were condemned of his confede-
by the iudgement of Andrew Herkeley Earle of Carlile, rates executed.
and on the two and twentie of March following, Thomas 1321.
W.ij. Earle

A Watch-woord

Earle of Lancaster was beheaded, and Warin de Lile, William Tochet, Thomas Manduit, Henrie Bradbourne, William Fitzwilliam the younger, and William de Cheyney Barons, were hanged and quartered at *Pomfret*. Iohn Mowbray, Roger Clifford, and Goceline Deynvile, were drawne and quartered at *Torke*. Bartholmew Baldesmere at *Canterburie*. Henrie de Mountfort, and Henrie Wylington at *Bristow*. Iohn Clifford and Roger Elinbrough at *Glocester*. William Kerdife and Henrie Chies at *London*. Frances de Aldham at *Vindfore*. Thomas Culpeper at *Vinchelsea*. The rest of their complices were bestowed in diuers places.

Andrew Herkeley
ley Earle of Car-
lile, hanged and
quartered.

1324.

Andrew Herkeley Earle of *Carlile*, vnder colour of peace, feigned a mariage, which by the King & his Nobles was reputed for Treason: whereupon he was apprehended by his trusty friend Sir Anthony de Lucy, and afterward was disgraced of the Carledome, by the taking the sword from him, and cutting off his spures, then was he hanged and quartered at *Carlile*, his head being sent to *London*, and his quarters to foure partes of the land.

The two Spencers
very trouble
some traytours
to the Realme:
in the ende had
theyr iust deserts.

1326.

Hugh Spencer the elder, and Hugh Spencer his sonne, were verie troublesome persons to the Realme, and caused many seditious treasons to arise daily: but the father was taken at *Bristowe*, where he was drawne to the gallowes in his Armour, and so hanged, then was he taken downe and beheaded, and his body hanged vp againe, and after foure dayes his body was cutte in peeces, and cast to the Dogges to be eaten, but his head was sent to *Vinchelsea*. Hugh Spencer his sonne was brought to *Hereforde*, where he was condemned without answer, and was drawne and hanged vpon a paire of gallowes thirtie fote hie, and afterward was headed and quartered. Simon Reading and Robert Baldocke, Bilhoppe of *Norwich*, and the Kinges Chauncelour, who were pertakers with them in their traitterous rebellions: the saide Simon Reading was drawne and hanged on the same gallowes, but ten fote lower, and Robert Baldocke died in *Petigate* with many

many tormentes. And many of their confederates were executed in other places, so that but fewe of them escaped without punishment.

In the raigne of King *Edward* *the thirde.*

Roger Mortimer, for consenting to the murdering of the Kings Father, and many other notozious treasons, was condemned at *Westminster*, in the presence of the whole Parliament, and afterward was drawne to the Elmes and hanged on the common gallows, where he hanged two daies & two nightes by the Kinges commaundment: there were hanged with him, Sir Simon de Burford Knight, Sir William Burford that was Justice, and John Deuerell Esquier, who was desirous to haue made open confession of the Kinges Fathers cruell death, but he could not be suffered.

Roger Mortimer, and others executed, for consenting to the murdering of the Kinges Father.
1330.

The Londoners sought to kill Iohn of Gaunt the Kings Sonne, Duke of Lancaster, for a word which he had spoken against their Bishoppe: whereupon the King deposed the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and appointed other in their places, and Sir Iohn Minsterworth Knight, with others, were drawne and hanged for the same.

The Mayor and Aldermen of London deposed because the Londoners sought to kyll the Kings Sonne. 1377.

In the raigne of King *Richard* *the seconde.*

By the wicked perswasions of Iohn Ball a seditious Priest, the Commons of Kent and Essex rebelled against the King, chusing for their Captaines in their rebellion, Watte Tyler and Iacke Strawe. They came to Blacke Heath, and so on to London, and entred the Cittie on Corpus Christi day, where they destroyed many goodly places of the Nobles and others, as the Sauoy, Saint Iohns

The Commons of Kent and Essex rebelled against the King, theyr Captaines being Iacke Strawe, and Watte Tyler,
1381.
by

A Watch-woord

The King offereth the rebelles peace.

The King sent to Wat Tyler.

Note the pride of a traytour.

by Smithfield, the Manour of Highburie by Tſeldon, and the Temple, where the Prientises of the Lawe were lodged for the increaſe of their Studie. They tooke out of the Tower of London (where the King was then lodged) Simon Sudburie Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lord Chauncelour of England, Robert Halles Priour of Saint Iohns, and Treasorer of England, William Apelton a Frier of the Kings Confeſſour, and Iohn Legge a Seriant of the Kings, and beheaded them all on the Tower Hill. They beheaded diuers other in many places, as Sir Iohn Cauesendishe Lord cheefe Juſtice of England, the Priour of S. Edmundes-burie, and other. Richard Lions a famous Lapidarie of London, was drawne out of his houſe, and beheaded in Chepe. They beheaded all men of Lawe, as well Prientises and utter Barreſters, as Juſtices and all Jurers that they might get into their hands. They ſpared none whom they thought to be learned, were it neuer ſo lyttle, eſpeciallye if they found any to haue pen and inke, they pulled off his hode, and cried out all with one voice, hale him into the ſtretes, and cut off his head. The King to pacifie their furie offered them peace, on condition they would ceaſe from burning of houſes and ſlaughter of men, which the Eſſex men tooke, and returned home, but the Kentiſh men remained burning and killing ſtyll, as befoze. Whereupon the King ſendeth Sir Iohn Newton Knight to Wat Tyler their Captaine, to intreate him to come talke with him about his owne demaundes: the Knight hauing done his meſſage, Wat Tyler mallepартly answered, that he would come at his owne pleaſure, neuertheleſſe, he followed ſoftly after the Knight, and when he came neere Smithfield, where the King tarried his comming, the ſame Knight was ſent againe to meet him, and vnderſtand his requests. Wat Tyler ſeeing the Knight come neere vnto him on horſebacke, prouddie ſaide, it had become him better to be on foote in his preſence: the Knight answered, that it was no harme, ſith himſelfe was alſo on horſebacke, therewith Wat Tyler drew his Dagger, and offering to ſtrike, called the

the Knight Traitor, whereupon the Knight drew his dagger to, and answered him that he lyed. The King seeing the Knight in danger, commaunded him to alight on soote, and to deliuer his Dagger to Wat Tyler, whose proude minde would not be so pacified, but would needes run on the Knight: whereupon there came to the King William Walwoorth the Mayor of London, and many other Knightes and Esquiers, who affirmed that it would be a shamefull reproch, if they should suffer the Knight to be murdered. At last the King commaunded the Mayor to arrest the Rebelle, which Mayor being a man of verie valiant courage, arrested Wat Tyler on the head with such a mighty stroke, as he caused him to fall downe greatly astonished, then a great number inuironed the Rebelle round about, and gaue him so many woundes, as he had no life left in him, &c. Lacke Strawe being likewise taken, when at London he should lose his head, by the iudgement of the Mayor, confessed as followeth.

Wat Tyler arrested by the Mayor of London, and afterward slaine.

The same time (sayth he) that we came to Black Heath, when we sent for the King, we purposed to haue murdered all Knightes, Esquiers, and Gentlemen that should haue come with him, and to haue led the King (royallie vsed) vp and downe, that with the sight of him, all men (especiallie the common people) might haue come vnto vs the more boldlie. And when we had prouided our selues of a sufficient multitude, we would haue suddenlie put to death in euerie Countrey, the Lordes and Maisters of the common people, in whome might appeare to be eyther counsell or resistance against vs. And speciallie we would haue killed the Knightes of Saint Iohns, lastlie, we would haue killed the King himselfe, and all men that had bene of any possession, Bishoppes, Bonkes, Channons, Parsons: to be brieefe, we would haue dispatched all such, onelie begging Friers should haue liued, that might haue suffised for ministering the Sacraments throughe the whole Realme. And we would haue made Kings at our pleasure, as Wat Tyler in Kent, and in euerie Shiere one: but because this our

The confession of Lacke Strawe.

A Watch-woord.

purpose was hindered by the Archbischoppe, we studied howe we might shortly bring him to his ende. Against the same day that Wat Tyler was kyled, we purposed that euening (because the poore people of London seemed to fauour vs) to set fire on folwe corners of the Cittie, so to haue burnt it, and to haue deuised the riches at our pleasure amongst vs. He added, that these thinges they purposed to haue done, as God should helpe him at the ende of his life. After this his confession, he was beheaded, and his head set on London Bridge, by Wat Tylers, and many other.

One of the Rebelles cast into the fire by his fellowe.

When these Rebelles burned the *Sauoy*, one of them took a goodlie Silver peece, and hid it in his bosome, but an other had spied him, and told his fellowes, who hurled him and the peece of Plate together into the fire.

Two and thirtie of the Rebelles mured vp in a Sellar.

Two and thirtie of them entring the Sellar of the *Sauoy*, drunke so much of sweete Wine, that they were not able to come out againe, but were shutte in with wood and stones that mured vp the doore: they called and cried seven dayes after, and were heard of many, but none came to helpe them, and so they died there.

The Rebelles murder one another.

After a number had sacked the new *Temple*, what with labour and exceeding drinking of white Wine, they laye downe vnder the walles and houses, and were slaine lyke Swine: hatred and contention so arose amongst them, as they cruellie murdered one another, and others also made quicke dispatch of them, thus the iust iudgement of GOD brought the traytors to their deserued end.

John Ball Priest, the comforter of the Rebelles, hanged. 1382.

John Ball Priest, who encouraged these traitors in their rebellion, was brought to *Saint Albones*, and there before the King was hanged and quartered: he would not aske the King forgiveness (as all traytors doe the lyke) but vtterlie despised him.

The names of the Rebelles that would haue made themselves Kinges.

The principall leaders of the Commons in rebellion, were Wat Tyler, lacke Strawe, Iohn Kirbie, Allen Threder, Thomas Scot, and Ralphe Rugge: these with other were leaders of the *Kentish* and *Essex* men. At *Mildenhall* and *Burie* in *Suffolke*, was Robert Westbrome, that made him

himselfe King, and was most famous after John Wrawe who being Priest, would not set crowne upon crowne, but left the name and crowne to the saide Robert.

At *Norwich*, John Leicester a Dyer, exercised the name and power of a King: tyll he was taken and hanged for his paines, and so were most of them in many places.

John Wrawe, who was leader of them that rose at *Mil* *denhall* and *Burie*, was drawne and hanged, though many thought he should haue bene redeemed with money.

John Wrawe one of the leaders of Rebels, hanged, 1383.

In the raigne of King *Henrie* *the fourth.*

King *Henrie* the fourth enioying the Crowne of *Eng* *land*, and keeping his Christmasse in his Castell at *Windsore*, John Holland late Duke of *Excester* and Earle of *Huntington*, Thomas late Duke of *Surrie* and Earle of *Kent*, Edward late Duke of *Gloucestre* and Earle of *Rutland*, sonne to the Duke of *York*, John Montacute Earle of *Salisbury*, Thomas Spencer Earle of *Glocester*, Sir *Ralph* Lumley, Sir *Thomas* Blunt, Sir *Benedic* Cely Knightes, with other that ioynded with them, conspired against King *Henrie*, and appointed priuie to murder him, vnder the couler of *Iusting* and other pastimes pretended. But the King vnderstanding of their presence by the Mayo^r of *London*, left *Windsore*, and came in his company to *London*, so that they missed of him when they came to *Windsore*, where they entred the Castell with foure hundred men. When they sawe how they were deceyued, they came to *Sunning*, where the Queen that was wife to King *Richard* deposed lay, where they perswaded the household, that King *Richard*, who before was deposed from his authoritie, and kept prisoner in *Pemfret* Castell, was as then escaped out of prison, and they would goe to him. From thence they went to *Wallingford*, afterward to *Abington*, warning the people to take

The Noble men rebelled against King *Henrie* the fourth, and priuie lie conspired to murder him, 1399.

A Watch-woord

The people of the
Towne fought
against the Re-
belles, and tooke
the cheefest of
them and behea-
ded them.

Armes vpon them, and to goe meete their olde King Richard. Then they came to *Circester*, where they bzuted that King Richard was in company with them, and to make their wordes of the better credite, they had gotten a Chaplaine of King Richards called Madeleine, so like him in all proportion and fauour, as the one could hardlie be knowne from the other. This Chaplaine they had put in Armour, with a Crowne on his Helmette, that all men might take him for King Richard: but the people of the Towne remembzring their duetie to their Prince, mislyked of their proceedings, wherebpon they fought against them, and at length tooke the cheefest of them, and led them to the Abbay there, where they put them in a fayze chamber vnder safe custodie. When the Lordes seeing the people so vehement in duetie to their King, stode in great feare, and imagined by what meanes they might escape swyth of their handes, so they caused some of their seruantes to set fire on certaine houses in the Towne, thinking the people would haue such regard to flake the fire, as they would be glad to forsake them: but it chaunced farre contrarie, for the people then increased more and more in rage against them, and dzeu them by violence into the Market place, where they beheaded the Duke of *Excestre* and the Earle of *Salisbury*, and sir and twentie of their attendaunts were led to *Oxforde*, where they were beheaded in the Castell, also Sir Thomas Blunt Knight was beheaded with them. The weeke next following, Thomas Spencer Earle of *Glocester* was beheaded at *Bristowe*, and at the same time, Iohn Holland Earle of *Huntington*, and brother to King Richard on the Mothers side, was beheaded at *Plashie* in *Essex*, and at *London* was beheaded Sir Barnard Brocas, Iohn Madeleine the Priest that was so like King Richard, and an other Priest called *VVilliam Ferebe*, and thus the traitors sped for rebelling against the King.

King Henry
escapeth a great
danger. 1401.

There was found in the Kinges bedde cloathes, an yron with thre sharpe pikes, slender and round standing vpright, layde there by some traytour, that when the King should

should haue laid him downe, he might haue thrust himselfe vpon them: but by Gods assistance he escaped that trayterous deuise.

A Priest of *Warwicke*, who conspired against King Henrie, was drawne, hanged, and quartered. Also Walter Wallocke Priour of *Land* in *Leicestershiere*, for trayterous speeches against the King, was hanged and headed. Moreover, one Richard Friseby, Doctor of Diuinitie, auouched, that in the quarrel of King Richard, (who was deposed for his euill gouernement, and was likewise dead) he would fight against any man, euen to the death: for which traite-rous wordes, he was condemned, drawne and hanged in his religious habite and weede. And not long after Sir Roger Claringdon Knight, with him an Esquier and a Peoman were beheaded, and eight Gray Friers hanged headed at *London*, and two at *Leicester*, all of them executed for traie-terous wordes against the King.

A Priest, a Prior and a Doctor of Diuinitie being a Gray Frier, were al executed for treason.

1403.

Thomas Percie Earle of *Worcester*, Sir Richard Vernon, the Baron of *Kinderton*, with diuers other rebellious persons, put themselues in Armes against the King, neere vnto *Shrewesburie*, in a place called Olde Feeld, alias Bull Feeld: but the Earle of *Worcester*, the Baron of *Kinderton*, and Sir Richard Vernon, were taken and beheaded at *Shrewesburie*.

The Earle of Worcester, Sir Richard Vernon and the Baron of Kinderton beheaded for rebelling against the king.

1404.

Henrie Percie Earle of *Northumberland*, Richard Scrope Archbishop of *Torke*, Thomas Mowbray Earle Marshall, Thomas Lord Bardolphe and other, conspired against the King, and caused the Cittizens of *Torke* to take part with them in their rebellion: but the Kinges power following them, forced the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord Bardolphe to take their flight into *Scotland*, but the Archbishop of *Torke* and the Earle Marshall were taken, and beheaded at *Torke*.

The Archbishop of Yorke, and the Earle Marshall beheaded, for rebelling against the King. 1406.

A Squire of *Wales* named Rice ap Dee, who had long time rebelled against the King, was brought to *London*, and there was drawne, hanged and quartered.

A Welch Rebell executed. 1412.

A Watch-woord

In the raigne of King *Henrie*
the fift.

A secrete conspi-
racie against the
King, accordinge
as it is set downe
by I. Stowe.

King Henrie
kept the Feeld by
Saint Giles about
Holbourne.

The King keeping his Christmasse at his Manor of *Elsham* seven miles from *London*, was given to under-stand that certaine had conspired against him, eyther to have taken, or suddenlie have slaine him and his brethren on *Twelfth* day at night: whereupon the King sent word to the Mayor of *London*, that he should arrest all suspicious persons. The Mayor forthwith caused every Alderman in his Ward to keepe great watch, and about ten of the clocke at night went himselfe with a strong power, to the signe of the *Axe* without *Bishops* gate, where he apprehended the man of the house, named *Iohn Burgate Carpenter*, and seven other, and sent them to *Elsham*: where they confessed before the King, that they were confederat with *Sir Iohn Oldcastell*, to fight against him and his Lords in *S. Giles* Feeld above *Houlbourne*. On the morrowe after *Twelfth* day, the King removed priuillie to *Westminster*, and with a great Armie kept the Feeld by *Saint Giles*, for he was warned that *Sir Iohn Oldcastell*, and *Sir Roger Aston*, would be in the same Feeld on the next daye following, with five and twenty thousand peple; and the same night were taken more then foure score men in Armour of the same faction. Also the King being told of an Ambushment in *Hrengay Parke*, sent thither certaine Lordes, who toke many of them: among whome was one *William Murle*, a rich Gault man or Brewer of *Dunstable*, who had his two horses trapped with golde following him, and a payre of gilt Spurres in his bosome, for he thought to have bene made knight on the morrowe. The *twelfth* daye of *Iannarie*, three score and nine of them were condemned of treason at *Westminster*, and on the morrowe after, seven and thirtie of them were drawne from the *Tower* of *London* to *Redgate*, and so to *Saint Giles*, and there

there in a place called Fickettes field, were all hanged, and seven of them burnt galloves and all. The nineteenth day of Januarie were drawne and hanged Sir Iohn Beverley Priest, Iohn Burgate Carpenter, a text writer in Saint Iohns streete, and a Glouer on London Bridge, and shortly after Sir Roger Aston Knight was taken, who on the tenth of Februarie was drawne, hanged and buried under the galloves.

Many of the Re-
belles hanged &
burnt in Fickets
feeld, and other
executed soone
after, for the
same offence.

1414.

On the last of Iulie was discovered a great conspiracie against the King by three Lordes, in whome aboue all the rest he reposed greatest trust and confidence: the chieffest of them was Henrie Scrope Lord Treasorer, the second was Richard Carle of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of Yorke, and the thirde was Sir Thomas Grey a Knight of the North. These three had caused Edmund Carle of March to sweare vpon a Booke, not to disclose their counsell, and then they tolde him, that they intended to kyll the King, and to make the saide Edmund King, the which if he refused to take vpon him, they would likewise kyll him. The Carle prayed them to giue him one houres space, to take aduise what he were best to do, which being graunted him, the Carle went secretly and tolde the King thereof, who caused them forthwith to be apprehended and brought befoze him, where they confessed the treason: for the which, on the sixt of August they were arreigned in the Kinges presence, and the same day all three beheaded. The Carle was buried head and all: but the other two headdes were sent the one to Yorke, and the other to Peter Castel vpon Tyne to be set vp.

Three Noble
men, whome the
King best trusted
and made great
account of, con-
spired his death.

1416.

Iohn Bennet Woolman, who had scattered about London diuers Scedules full of sedition, was drawne, hanged, and beheaded on Michaelmas daye: and the eight daye of October, a Parchment-maker of Trylmell streete, was drawne, hanged & beheaded, for harbouring Sir Iohn Oldcastle, contrarie to the Kinges commaundement.

Iohn Bennet, ex-
ecuted for scatter-
ing seditions
Libelles in Lon-
don. 1417.

A Watch-woord

In the raigne of King Henrie the sixt.

William Mandeuil, Captaine of a lewde company of rebellious persons at Abingdon, executed there, and others of his company in diuers other places.

1433.

Richard Russell executed.

Conspiratours of the Kinges death by Necromancy.

Thomas Southwell a Chanon of Saint Stephens Chappell at Westminster, were taken as conspiratours of the Kinges death: for it was saide, that the same Roger should labour to consume the Kinges person by waye of Necromancie, and the saide Thomas should say Masses in the Lodge of Harnesey Parke beside London, vppon certaine Instruments, with the which the saide Roger should vse his craft of Necromancie against the Faith, and was assenting to the saide Roger in all his workes. And the five and twentie day of Iulie being Sunday, Roger Bolingbrooke with all his Instruments of Necromancie, that is to say, a painted Chayre wherein he was wont to sit, vpon the folowe corners

At Abingdon were gathered together a great many of lewde and rebellious persons, who sought to make a great bpozze in the Realme: but the Lord Protector rode thether with his company, and arrested there the Bayliffe of the Towne, named William Mandeuil a Cleauer, who was appointed for their Captaine, and he had named himselfe lacke Sharpe of Wigmers Land in Wales. When he was examined, he confessed that he meant to haue done many mischeeses, especiallie against Priestes, so that he would haue made their heads as cheape as Shæpes heads, that is to saye, thre for a penny, or as some write ten for a penny: he was drawne, hanged, and headed at Abingdon, and his head was sent to London and set on the Bridge, the rest of his company were executed in diuers other places, for example to other.

The thirteenth day of Iulie following, one Richard Russell Wool-man, was drawne, hanged, and quartered: for that he would haue made Dukes and Carles at his owne pleasure.

Roger Bolingbrooke a great Astronemer, with Thomas Southwell a Chanon of Saint Stephens Chappell at Westminster, were taken as conspiratours of the Kinges death: for it was saide, that the same Roger should labour to consume the Kinges person by waye of Necromancie, and the saide Thomas should say Masses in the Lodge of Harnesey Parke beside London, vppon certaine Instruments, with the which the saide Roger should vse his craft of Necromancie against the Faith, and was assenting to the saide Roger in all his workes. And the five and twentie day of Iulie being Sunday, Roger Bolingbrooke with all his Instruments of Necromancie, that is to say, a painted Chayre wherein he was wont to sit, vpon the folowe corners

corners of which Chayze stode foure swordes, and vpon euerie sword an Image of Copper hanging, with many other Instrumentes beside: he stode on a high Scaffolde before Paules Crosse, holding a sword in his right hand, and a Scepter on his left, arraided in a meruailous strange attire, and after the Sermon was done, by Maister Lawe Bishoppe of Rochester, he abiured all Articles belonging to the Arte of Necromancie, or against the Faith. Afterward, these two were condemned of Treason, Thomas Southwel died in the Tower of London, but Roger Bolingbrook was drawne from the Tower to Wyborne, and there hanged and quartered. Roger Bolingbrook executed. 1442.

John David seruauant to William Catur, an Armozer dwelling in Saint Dunstons Parisse in Fleetstreete, appeached his Maister of Treason: and a day being assigned for them to fight a Combate together in Smithfeld, the Maister was there slaine by his saide seruauant. A Combate betweene a Maister and his seruauant, who appeached him of treason. 1447.

The Duke of Gloucester being arrested by the Lord Beaumont high Costable, the Duke of Buckingham, & the Duke of Somerset, & other, for speciall matters, within few daies after he died with sorrow: but two & thirty of his principal seruantes being sent to diuers prisons, five of them were arraigned and condemned at London, whose names were Sir Roger Chamberlaine knight, Middleton, Herbert, and Arceyse Esquiers, and Richard Nedham Gentleman, all which five were drawne from the Tower of London to Wyborne, and there hanged, but they were let downe quicklie, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartred, and then a Charter was shewed them for their liues: but the Peoman of the Crowne had their liuelode, and the hangman had their cloathes. The Duke of Gloucester arrested, died soone after, but five of his men were hanged, and after pardoned, 1448.

Thomas Thany, otherwise called Blew beard a Fuller, was taken beside Canterburie for rayling a rebellion: who afterward was hanged and quartered. Blew beard hanged for raising rebellion. 1450.

The Commons of Kent arose against the King, hauing to their Captaine lacke Cade, who named himselfe Mortimer, Cousin to the Duke of Yorke, and of some he was The Commons of Kent rebelled, lacke Cade be-
called

A Watch-woord

ing their Cap-
taine. 1451.

called Iohn Amendall: this Captaine and his company came to Blacke Heath, and there kept the ffeild moze then a moneth, pilling and spoyling the Countrie round about. At length the Kinges Proclamation going abroad against the Rebelles, Iacke Cade was taken by a Gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden, in a Garden in *Sussex*, there was he slaine at Hothfeild, after ward brought in a Cart to London, where he was quartered, his head set on London Bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places in Kent: eight men were executed at *Canterburie* for the same offence, and in other Townes of Kent and *Sussex* was done the lyke execution.

In the raigne of King Edward the fourth.

Walter Walker
beheaded for
wordes against
the King. 1461.

Walter V Walker, a Grocer that dwelt in Chepe, for certaine wordes that he spake touching King Edward, was beheaded in Smithfeild on the twelfth daye of March.

The Mayor of
Canterbury and
other executed
for rebellion.

Nicholas Faunt Mayor of *Canterburie*, Spicing, Quintin and other, were hanged and headed at *Canterburie*, for rebelling against King Edward: the heads of Spicing and Quintin were set on Algate of London.

The Bastarde
Faulconbrigde
lost his head.
1472.

Thomas the Bastard Faulconbridge, who tooke parte with the Rebelles in Kent against the King, was taken at Southhampton, and was beheaded at the Castell of *Mildesham* in *Dorsetshire*, his head was sent to London, and there set on the Bridge.

Thomas Burdet
beheaded for
treason. 1478.

Thomas Burdet an Esquier of *Warwickshire*, sonne to Sir Nicholas Burdet, for speaking of Treasonable wordes against the King: was condemned of Treason, drawne from the Tower of London to *Liborne*, and there beheaded.

In the raigne of King *Edward*
the fift.

TO set downe the troublesome accidentes happening in this Kinges raigne, would require a verie large discourse, & growe to greater quantitie then the scope that I haue intended: beside, for that troubles did still follow one in an others neeke, both in his lyfe tyme, as also after his death, by reason he left two Sones, who were so young in yeeres, as they could not take the gouernment vpon them, I will therefore referre you to the Chronicles, which at large will certifie you of that, which I am loth heere to rehearse: yet it shall not be a misse to report vnto you, howe the King lying on his death bedde, desired to pacifie and set in good agreement, those that had long time bene heauie enemies, especiallie the Lord Marques Dorset, the Queens Sonne by her first Husband, and William the Lord Hastings, a noble man then Lord Chamberlaine: and for his Highnesse would gladlie see all enmitie ceased befoze he died, he called them into his Chamber, when lyfing himselfe vp, and being vp helde with pillowes, he vttered to them a worthy Oration, which Oration, for that it sheweth notable examples to vnsteadie and wilfull heads, and delyuereth good counsell to all in generall, I haue bene so bolde to insert it heere, to shewe the Princelie aduise of so noble a King, as also to giue some light of the troubles in those dayes.

The Lord Marques Dorset, and the Lord Hastings, great enemies.

*The Oration of the King, which he spake lying
on his death bedde.*

MY Lords, my deere kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lye you see, and I feele, by which the lesse whyle I looke to liue with you, the more deepe am I moued to care in what case I leaue you: for such as I leaue you, such

Note the care of a Prince for his Countre.

D.ij,

be

A Watch-woord

The daunger
where flattery is
more esteemed
then true and
faithfull dealing.

A speciall note
for all traitours.

be my childezen like to finde you. Which if they should (as God forbid) finde you at variaunce, might hap to fall themselves at warre, ere their discretion would serue to set you at peace. We see their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suretie to rest in your concord, for it suffiseth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulness would suffice, but childehood must be maintained by mens authoritie, and slipper youth vnder-propped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue, but ye giue it, nor ye giue it: if ye græe not. For where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of eche others person, unpugneth eche others counsell: there must it needes be long ere any good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie laboureth to be chiefe, flatterie shall haue more place then plaine and faithfull aduise, of which must needes ensue the euill bzinging vp of the Prince, whose minde in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischeefe & riot, and draw downe with his noble Realme to ruine: but if Grace turne him to wisdom, which if God sende, then they that by euill meanes befoze pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour, so that euer at length euill driftes drawe to naught, and good plaine waies prosper. Great variaunce hath there long bene betwene you, not alway for great causes: sometime a thing right well intended, our misse construction turneth vnto worse, or a small displeasure down vs, either our owne affectiō, or euill tongues agréueth: but this I wot well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be Christian men, this shall I leaue for Preachers to tell ye: and yet I wot nere, whether any Preachers wordes ought more to moue ye, then his that is by and by going to the place that they all preach of. But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of my alpes, and eche of you with other either of kindred or affinitie, which Spirituall kindred of affinitie (if the Sacraments of Christes Church beare that weight with vs, as would God they did) should

no

no lesse moue vs to charitie, then the respect of fleshly consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the worse, for the selfe cause you ought to loue the better: and yet it happeneth, and no where finde we so deadlie debate, as among them, who by nature and lawe ought most to agree together.

Such a pestilent Serpent is ambition, and desire of vaine glorie and soueraigntie, which among States where he once entreth, creepeth so farre forth, tyll with deuision and variaunce he turneth all to mischeefe: first longing to be best, after ward equall with the best, and at last cheefe & aboue the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and discention, what losse, what sorrowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeeres growne in this Realme, I praye God as well forgette, as we well remember: which thinges if I could as well haue foreseen, as I haue with my more paine then pleasure proued, by Gods blessed Lady (for that was euer his oath) I would neuer haue wunne the courtesie of mennes knees, with the losse of so many heads. But seeing thinges past cannot be called againe, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt befoze, that we eft soones fall not in that occasion againe. Poise is all these griefes past, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder your Cousins my children, if God send them life, and you loue: of which two thinges the lesse losse were they, by whome though God did his pleasure, yet should the Realme alway finde Kinges, and peraduenture as good Kinges. But if you among your selues in a Childes raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall perishe, and happilie he too, ere this Land finde peace againe. Wherefoze in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me, for the loue that I haue euer borne to you, for the loue that our Lord beareth vnto vs all, from this time foreward all griefes forgotten, eche of you loue other: which I verilie

D.ij.

trust

Ambition a pestilent and deadly Serpent, whose infection where he commeth, turneth all to mischeefe.

The remembrance of misfortunes past, ought to teach vs to be fearefull of the lyke.

A good note for this present tyme of peace.

A Watch-woord

trust you will, if you any thing regard, either God or your King, affinitie or kindred, this Realme your owne Countrie, or your owne suretie.

And therewithall the King enduring no longer to sitte vp, layde him downe on his right side, his face towarde them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping. But the Lordes recomforting him with as good wordes as they could, and aunswering for the tyme as they thought to stande with his pleasure, there in his presence (as by their wordes appeared) eche forgave other, and ioyned their handes together, when (as it after appeared by their deedes) their heartes were farre asunder.

The young King (after the deceasse of his Father) came towarde London, when the Duke of Gloucester his Uncle began greatlie to thirst for the Kingdome, and wered very enuious that so young a Prince should reigne: wherupon he deprivied the young King of them that were nearest about him, and whome he thought would hinder his aspiring minde. First Sir Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, and brother to the Quene, who had the gouernance and ordering of the young King, he caused to put him in durauice, and after ward euen in the Kinges presence, he procured a quarrell to be picked with the Lord Richard Grey, the Kinges other Brother by the Mother, and arrested him and Sir Thomas Vaughan Knight, and so farre proceeded he in his determination, by the aide of the Duke of Buckingham and others, as the Lord Rivers, the Lord Grey & Sir Thomas Vaughan were sent into the North partes to sundrie prisons, but after ward were all beheaded at Pomfret. Then did he take vpon him the gouernance of the young King, and was called the Lord Protector: when hauing the King in his custodie, he could not be yet contented, except he had the other Brother too, and therfore by meanes of the Lord Cardinall, he preuailed in his purpose, and brought the other Childe to the King his Brother into the Bishops Pallace at Paules, and from thence through

The Lord Rivers
put in ward.

The Duke of
Gloucester caused
the Lord Rivers,
the Lord Grey,
and Sir Thomas
Vaughan to be
beheaded.

through the Cittie honourable into the Tower, out of the which after that day they neuer came abroade. When the Protector had both the Childzen thus in his custodie, he opened his intent more boldly, both to certaine other men, as also chiefe to the Duke of *Buckingham*, that he would needs be King himselfe in all the haste, and he should haue the Dukes aide to make him King, besides, the Protectors onelie lawfull Sonne should marie the Dukes Daughter, and that the Protector should graunt him the quiet possession of the Earldome of *Hertford*, and beside these requestes of the Duke, the Protector promised him of his owne minde a great quantitie of the Kings Treasure, and of his household stuffe.

In bréepe, the Protector taketh vppon him to be King, and so preuailed that he was crowned King: but when he remembred that his two Nephewes were liuing in the Tower, and one of them the right King in deede, he perswaded himselfe (as verie well he might) that men would account him to haue no right to the Realme, therefore he thought to dispatch them out of the way, as though the killing of his kinsemen could amend his cause, & make him a kindlie King. Vpon this he sent one Iohn Greene whome he specially trusted, to Sir Robert Brakenburie Constable of the Tower, with a letter & credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two Childzen to death: but when Iohn Greene had done his errand to Sir Robert, he plainlie answered, that by no meanes he would put them to death. When King Richard perceyued he could not preuaile that way, he brake the matter to Sir Iames Tierrell, whome he found verie tractable to his intent, wherefore he sent him on the morrowe with a Letter to Sir Robert Brakenburie, by which Letter he was commaunded to deliuer to Sir Iames all the keies of the Tower for one night, to the ende he might there accomplishe the Kings pleasure, in such thinges as he had giuen him commaundement. After which Letter deliuered, and the keies receiued, Sir Iames appointed the night en-

The young King and his Brother brought to the Tower.

The Protector crowned King, by the name of King Richard the third,

King Richard sendeth to haue the two young Princes put to death in the Tower.

uing.

AWatch-woord

swing to destroye the two young Princes, deuising before and preparing the meanes.

The young Prince informed that his Vnckle would be King, and his aunswere to the same.

The Prince & his Brother shut vp close prisoners.

Sir James appointed who should murder the Princes.

The young King and his Brother murdered.

The Prince so soone as the Protector had left that name, and tooke vpon himselfe to be King, was thereof informed, that he should not reigne, but his Vnckle would haue the Crowne. At which wordes the Prince being greatlie abashed, fetching a heauie sigh, saide: Alas, I would mine Vnckle would let me haue my life yet, though I lose my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale, bled him with good wordes, and put him in the best comfort he could: But forthwith was the Prince and his Brother both shut vp, and all other removed from them, onelie one Blacke Will, or William Slaughter excepted, who was set to serue them and see them sure. After which time, the Prince neuer tied his points, nor did any thing of himself, but with the young babe his Brother lingred in thought and heauines, till this traitterous death deliuered them out of that wretched estate. For Sir James Tirrell deuised that they should be murdered in their beddes: to the execution whereof he appointed Myles Forrest, one of the foure that kept them, a fellowe fleshed in murder before time, and to him he ioyned Iohn Dighton his owne horse-keeper, a big, broad, square, long knaue.

Then all the other being removed from them, this Myles Forrest and Iohn Dighton, about midnight (the felie Childzen lying in their beddes) came into the Chamber, and suddenlie lapped them vp amongst the cloathes: and they had so belapped them and intangled them, keeping downe by force the featherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while, smothered and stifled, their breath failing them, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioyes of Heauen, leauing to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bedde. Which after that the cruell wretches perceiued, first by strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying still to be thoroughlie dead, they laide their bodies naked vpon the bedde, and fetched Sir James to see them: who vpon the sight of them, caused

caused those murderers to burie them at the stayres foote, meetlie deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones. King Richard
Then rode Sir Iames in great haste to King Richard, and thanketh Syr
shewed him all the manner of the murder, who gaue him Iames for mur-
great thanks, and (as some say) there made him Knight: dering the Prin-
but he allowed not their burying in so vile a corner, say- cca.
ing, that he would haue them buried in a better place, be-
cause they were a Kinges sonnes. Upon this, as it is re-
ported, a Priest belonging to Sir Robert Brakenburie,
tooke vp the bodies againe, and secretly entered them in
such a place, as by the occasion of his death, who onelie
knew it, could neuer since come to light. Verie troth it is,
and well knowne, that at such time as Sir Iames Tyrrell
was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most
famous Prince King Henric the seuenth, both Dighton
and he were examined, and they confessed the murder in
manner aboue written, but whether the bodies were re-
moued they could not tell.

And thus were these two noble Princes, these innocent
tender children, borne of a most royall blood, brought vp in
great wealth, likelie long to liue, reigne and rule in the
Realm, shortly shut vp in prison, and finally thus mur-
dered, their bodies cast God knowes where, by the cruell
ambition of their vnnaturall Uncle, and his despightfull
tormentors. Which thinges on euerie part well ponde-
red, God neuer gaue this Realme a more notable example,
neither in what vncertainty standeth this worldly weale,
or what mischæfe worketh the proude enterprises of an
high heart, or finally, what wretched end ensueth such vn-
naturall crueltie. For first to begin with the bloody actors
of this murder, Miles Forrest at saint *Martins* peere-meale
rotted away. Dighton yet walketh (as are mine Authours
wordes at that time) in good possibilitie to be hanged ere
he die. Sir Iames Tyrrell died at the Tower hyll, being
beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe was after-
ward slaine in the feld, hacked and helmed at his enemies
bandes, harried on horsebacke dead, his heaire in despight

Myles Forrest
rotted in peeces
to death.
Dighton in good
forwardnes to be
hanged.
Syr Iames Tyrrel
beheaded for
treason.
King Richard
himselfe slaine
in the feld,

A Watch-woord

tozne and fugged lyke a curre Dogge. In his life time, by credible report of such as were secrete with his Chamberlaine, after this abhominable deepe was done, he neuer was quiet in his minde: he neuer thought himselfe sure, where he went abzoade, he still priuylie looked about him, his body was secretly fenced, his hand euer vpon his Dagger, his countenance and manners like one alwaies ready to strike againe, soze wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbzed then slept, troubled with fearful dreames, suddenlie sometime he started vp, leapt out of his bed, and ran about the Chamber, so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled, with the tedious impression and stozmie remembzaunce of his abhominable deepe. A notable example doubtlesse, to all such as take lyke enterprize in hand, that cannot be contented to liue within compasse of duetie, but their aspiring thoughts must stretch furder, then either their habilitie will serue them, or God suffer them. The seate of a Prince is a place of great Maiestie, and none but such as God hath appointed, can containe themselves in that royall rōme: then if they wilfullie couet that place, for which both reason and duetie sayth, they are farre vnfitte, such is the iustice of him, by whome Kinges rule, and Princes swaie their Soueraigntie, as the pleasure they thought to haue in that high Office, is a verie dagger to their hearts, and such an eating worzme to their consciences, as by this example befoze you maye plainlie perceiue. Let Princes therefore be honoured and feared as they ought, and let Subiects liue in true & faithfull obedience to them, because it is a chiefe and an especiall article of their duetie.

In the raigne of King *Henrie* *the seuenth.*

Certaine persons
executed for ma-

On the two and twentieth day of Februarie, were arraigned in the Guild Hall of London foure persons, to wit,

Wist, Thomas Bagnall, Iohn Scot, Iohn Heth, and Iohn Kennington, who were Sanctuarie men of Saint Mar-
tins le Graund in London, and lately befoze were taken out
of the saide Sanctuarie, for forging of seditious Billes, to
the slaunde of the King & some of his Councel: for which,
thre of them were adiudged to die, so on the five and twen-
tie day of Febzuarie, the saide thre persons, with a Flem-
ming and a Peoman of the Crowne, were all five executed
at Tiborne.

Pierce or Perkin Werbecke, a Flemming bozne, by the
councell of Margaret Dutches of Burgoigne, named him-
selfe Richard of Yorke, King Edwardes second Sonne: he
and his company arrived at Deale in Kent, where when
they perceiued they could haue no comfort of the Countrie
in their rebellion, they withdrew themselves to their
Ships againe. But the Mayor of Sandwich encountred
with them, and tooke aliue of them one hundred, thre score
and nine persons, among the which were five Captaines,
Mountford, Corbette, Whitbelt, Quintine, and Gemine.
And on the twelfth of Iulie, Iohn Peche Esquier and Sher-
iffe of Kent, brought vnto London Bridge these hundred
thre score and nine persons, where the Sherifes of London
receiued them, and conueied them in Cartes & long ropes
to the Tower of London, and to Newgate. Not long after,
a hundred & fifty of them were hanged in Kent, Essex, Sussex
and Norfolk. the residue were executed at Tiborne, and
Wapping in the Wlose beside London.

A Commotion was made by the Commons of Corne-
vwall, who vnder the leading of Iames Tuchet of Audley,
Lord of Audley, with Michael Ioseph, a Horse Farrer or
Blacksmith of Badman, and other, came to Blacke Heath,
where the King mette with them, and discomfited the Re-
belles, taking their Captaines: and there were slaine of
the Rebelles about thre hundred, and a thousand and five
hundred of them taken, the King gaue to them that tooke
them their goddes. The Lord Audley was beheaded on
the Tower Hill, and the Blacke Smith, and Flamoke a
C.ij. Lawier

king seditious &
slaunderous Ly-
bels against the
King, 1494.

Peter Werbecke
a Flemming, na-
med himselfe
King Edwardes
second Sonne:
for which diuers
of his company
were executed in
sundry places.

1497.

A commotion
against the King
by the commons
of Cornewall,
vnder the con-
duct of the Lord
Audley, and Mi-
chaell Ioseph a
Blacke Smith.

1498.

A Watch-woord

A Shoemakers
sonne hanged,
for sayning him
selfe to be the
Earle of War-
wicke. 1499.

Latwier were hanged, headed and quartered at Tiborne.

A Shoemakers sonne in Bishoppes gate streete in Lon-
don, was hanged at Saint Thomas Watrings on Shrove
Tuesdave, for naming himselfe to be Edward Earle of
Warwicke, Sonne to George Duke of Clarence: which
Edward Earle of Warwicke was then (and had bene all
the raigne of this King) kept secret prisoner in the Tower
of London.

Perkin Werbeck
hanged. 1500.

The afozenamed Perkin Werbecke, that named himselfe
King Edwards Sonne, and Iohn a Water Payor of Corse,
were executed at Tiborne.

In the raigne of King Henrie the eight, of famous memorie.

Edward Duke of
Buckingham was
demned for trea-
son, & beheaded.
1522.

Edward Duke of Buckingham was accused of high trea-
son, for which he was apprehended and sent to the To-
wer of London on the sixteenth daye of Aprill, before which
time the Dukes Chauncellour was taken, who had confes-
sed matter of high treason concerning the Kinges person.
Shortlie after the Duke was arraigned at Westminster,
where were brought against him as witnesses, Sir Gil-
bert Perke his Chauncellour, Iohn de la Court his Con-
fessor, Charles Knevet Esquier, and a Monk, Prior of
Henton. In the end he was found guiltie, and had iudge-
ment to be drawne, hanged and quartered: so on the se-
uenth day of Maie following, the saide Edward Duke of
Buckingham, Earle of Hereford, Stafford and Northhamp-
ton, was beheaded on the Tower hill: such is the ende of
ambition, the credite of false prophecies, and of euill life.

Conspiracie at
Couentrie, to
haue taken the
Castell of Kil-
lingwoorth, and
to make warre
against the King.
1524.

In December, at the Cittie of Conentrie, Frauncis Phil-
lip, Scholemaster to the Kinges Henrmen, Christopher
Pickering Clarke of the Kinges Larder, and Anthonie
Manuile Gentleman, intended to haue taken the Kinges
Treasure of his Subsidie, as the Collectours of the same
came towarde London, and therewith they intended to
haue

haue rayſed men, and to haue taken the Caſtell of *Killingsworth*, and then to haue made battaile againſt the King: for the which, they were drawne, hanged and quartered at *Tiborne* the eleuenth of February, the reſt of their conſpiracie were executed at *Conentrie*.

Elizabeth Barton the holie Maide of *Kent*, and diuers other of her faction, were drawne from the Tower of *London* to *Tiborne*, & there hanged and headed, &c. for ſundrie conſpiracies by them committed, in the matter of diuorſe betwene the Kinges Maieſtie, and Quene Katherine.

The holy Mayde of *Kent* & other executed, 1535.

The nine and twentieth daye of Aprill, the Priour of the Charterhouſe at *London*, the Priour of *Benall*, the Priour of *Exham*, Reinoldes a Brother of *Sion*, & Iohn Haile Vicar of *Thiſtleworth*, were all condemned of high treason: ſo the fourth daye of Maie following, they were drawne, hanged and quartered at *Tiborne*, their heads and quarters ſet on the gates of the Cittie, all ſaving one quarter, which was ſet on the Charterhouſe at *London*.

Certaine Charterhouſe Monks, and other executed for treason. 1536.

The eightene day of June, three Monkes of the Charterhouſe at *London*, named *Exmewe*, *Middlemore*, and *Nidgate*, were drawne to *Tiborne*, and there hanged & quartered for treason.

Charterhouſe Monkes executed for treason.

The two and twentieth day of June, Doctor Iohn Fisher was beheaded on the Tower hill, and his head was ſet on *London Bridge*: and the ſixt of Iulie following, Sir Thomas More was beheaded on the Tower hill, for denying the Kinges ſupremacie.

Bishop Fisher & Syr Thomas More beheaded. 1536.

Thomas Fitz-garret, Sonne and heire to the Earle of *Kildare*, was beheaded, & ſixe of his Vnckles were drawne to *Tiborne*, and there hanged and quartered for treason. In the ſame Moneth, which was February, Nicholas Maſgraue, Thomas Gylbie and other, ſtirred a new rebellion, and beſieged the Cittie of *Carlile*, from whence they were driuen, and many of them taken and put to death. Alſo the ſame moneth, Sir Frauncis Bigot, Sir Robert Conſtable, and other began a conſpiracie, and for the ſame were attainted.

The Earle of Kyldare and ſixe of his Vnckles executed. Rebellion in Yorkeshiere.

An other conſpiracie.

AWatch-woord

Lincolneshiere-
wells executed
at Tiborne, 1537.

The nine and twentieth day of March, twelve men of Lincolneshiere were bygone to Tiborne, & there hanged and quartered, for the rebellion in Lincolneshiere: five were Priests, and seven were Lay men, one was an Abbot, a Suffragan, Doctor Mackerell, an other was the Vicar of Louche in Lincolneshiere, and two Priests.

A commotion
in Sommerfet-
shiere, and diuers
of them execu-
ted. 1538.

In April, through certaine Commissions sent into Sommerfetshiere to take by Cozne, the people began to make an insurrection, which was by Maister Pawlet and others alayed: the beginners thereof to the number of three score were condemned, whereof fouretee were hanged & quartered, one of them was a woman.

Frier Forrest
hanged & burnt.
1539.

Frier Forrest was hanged by the middle in a chaine of yron, and then burnt in Smithfield, for denying the King to be supream head of the Church, & with him was burnt the Image of Daruel Gatherine of Wales.

Abbots of Rea-
ding and Glasse-
burie executed,
1540.

Hugh Ferrindon Abbot of Reading, and two Priestesses named Ruge and Onion, for denying the Kinges Supremacie, were hanged and quartered at Reading: the same daye was the Abbot of Glasseburie Richard Whitting, hanged and quartered on Torre hyll beside his Monasterie, for the same cause.

The Lord Crom-
well beheaded.

Thomas Lord Cromwell Earle of Essex, being in the Councell Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower of London: the nine and twentieth day of Julie following, he was attainted by Parliament of heresie and treason, and the eight and twentieth day of Julie he was beheaded on the Tower hyll, with the Lord Walter Hungerford of Heitisburie.

Six Priests, three
burnt, and three
hanged.

Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard and William Ierome Priestesses, were burnt in Smithfield: and the same daye Thomas Abel, Edward Powell and Richard Fetherstone, were hanged and quartered, for denying the Kinges Supremacie.

Seven executed
at Tyborne for
treason, 1541.

Laurance Cooke, a Priour of Dancalse, William Horne a lay Brother of the Charterhouse, Gyles Horne Gentleman, Clement Philpot, Edmond Bromham, Darby Kenham,

ham, Robert Bird, and Iaruis Carrowe, were all put to death for treason.

In Aprill certaine persons began a new rebellion in *Yorkeshiere*, who were shortly after taken and put to execution in diuers places: of which Leigh a Gentleman, Tatarfal a Clothier, and Thorneton a Peoman, were put to death at *London*: Sir Iohn Neuell Knight, and ten persons more, were put to death at *Torke*.

A new rebellion in *Yorkeshiere*.

The Lord Leonard Grey being endighted of certaine points of treason, by him committed, and was alleadged against him, was arraigned at *Westminster*: but he discharged the Iurie, and confessed the endightment, whereupon he had iudgement, and was beheaded on the Tower hill on Saint Peters euen.

The Lord Leonard Grey beheaded.

The first day of Iulie a Welch minstrell was hanged and quartered for singing of Songs, which were interpreted to be prophesying against the King.

A Welch minstrell hanged.

1542.

Germaine Gardner, and Larke Parson of *Chelsea*, were executed at *Tiborne* for denying the Kinges supremacie, with them was executed for other offences one Singleton: and shortly after, Ashbie was executed for the supremacie.

Germaine Gardner and others executed. 1544.

In the raigne of the noble Prince *King Edward the sixth.*

In the moneth of Maie, by meanes of a Proclamation for enclosures, the Commons of *Sommerfetshiere* and *Lincolneshiere* made a commotion: but Sir William Herberd slew and executed many of the Rebelles.

A commotion in *Sommerfetshiere* and *Lincolneshiere*.

Also the Commons of *Cornewall* and *Deuonshiere* rose against the Noble men and Gentlemen, and besieged the Cittie of *Excester*, which was valiantlie defended. Against these Rebelles was sent Iohn Lord Russell, Lord priuie Seale, with a number of Soldiours, who entred the Cittie of *Excester* the fift daye of August, where they slew and tooke

Commotion in *Cornewall* and *Deuonshiere*.

A Watch-woord

tooke prisoners of the Rebelles more then foure thousand, and after hanged diuers of them in the Towne and Countrie about.

Certaine executed for aiding the Rebelles

Diuers persons were apprehended as aiders of the foresaid Rebels, of the which one was hanged within Algate, and an other at the Bridge foote toward Southwarke, both on Marie Magdalens day.

The Rebelles in Norfolke and Suffolke encamped themselves.

The Rebelles in *Norfolke* and *Suffolke* encamped themselves at Mount *Surrey*, in a wood called Saint Nicholas Wood, neere vnto *Norwich*, against whome, Sir Iohn Dudley Earle of *Warwicke*, went with an Armie, where, both he and a great number of Gentlemen meeting with the Rebelles, were in such daunger, as they thought all to haue died in that place. But God that confoundeth the purpose of Rebelles, brought it so to passe, that as well there as in all other places, they were partlie by power constrained, partlie by promise of their pardon, perswaded to submit themselves to their Prince. The Earle of *Warwicke* entred the Cittie of *Norwich* the seuen and twentieth day of August, when he had slaine aboue fise thousand of the Rebelles, and taken their cheefe Captaine Robert Ket of *Windam Tanner*, who might dispend in landes fiftie poundes by yeere, and was worth in moueables aboue a thousand Markes, and when he had put to execution diuers of the Rebelles, in sundrie places about *Norwich*, he returned.

Robert Ket Captaine of the Rebelles taken, and many of them slaine and executed.

Commotion in Yorkeshiere.

About this time also, a commotion began at *Semer* in the *North-riding* of *Yorkeshiere*, and continued in the *East-riding*, & there ended: the principall raisers whereof were William Omblor of *East-hesterton* Peoman, Thomas Dale parish Clarke of *Semer*, and Stevenson of *Semer*. They being preuented by the Lord President from rising at *Winstreingham*, they dretwe to a place at *Semer* by the Sea coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at *Staxton*, and set it on fire, and so gathered together a rude route. Then they went to Maister Whites house, and tooke him, and Clopton his wiues brother, Sauadge a merchant of *Torke*, and

and Berie seruauit to Sir Water Mildmay, which foure they murdered a mile from *Semer*, and there left them naked, their number increasing to three thousand. On the one and twentieth day of August the Kinges pardon was offered, which Ombler and other refused: who were shortly after taken and brought to *Yorke*, where Thomas Dale and other were executed the one and twentieth day of September.

The Rebels refusing the Kinges Pardon, were shortly after executed at *Yorke*.

The seven and twentieth day of Januarie, Humfrey Arundell Esquier, Thomas Holmes, Winslowe and Berie, Captaines of the Rebelles in *Deuonshire*, were hanged and quartered at *Tiborne*.

Captaines of the *Deuonshire* rebelles executed.

The tenth of Februarie, one Bell a *Suffolke* man, was hanged and quartered at *Tiborne*, for mouing a new rebellion in *Suffolke* and *Essex*.

Bell a *Suffolke* Rebelle executed. 1550.

Richard Lion, Goddard, Gorran, and Richard Ireland, were executed the fourteenth day of Maie, for attempting a new rebellion in *Kent*.

Rebellees of *Kent* executed. 1551.

In the raigne of Queene Marie.

William Constable alias Fetherstone, who caused Letters to be cast abroad, that King Edward was aliue, and to some he had shewed himselfe to be King Edward, was arraigned at the Guild Hall of *London*, hauing bene once before whipped for the same behaviour, and deliuered: but now he was condemned, and the thirteenth day of March he was drawne, hanged and quartered at *Tiborne*.

A Myllers sonne fayning himselfe to be King Edward, executed. 1556.

One Clobber, who sometime kept a Schoole at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, with three brethren whose names were Lincoln, made a conspiracie: and being driuen to flight, one Walter Shirman pursued, and tooke him at a Towne called *Eye* in *Suffolke*, where he was kept in prison till the next Sessions at *Saint Edmundsburie*, whether his three mates

Four Rebels executed at *Saint Edmundsburie*. 1557.

J. J.

being

A Watch-woord

being brought to him, they were altogether drakone, hanged and quartered.

Quene Marie Deceasing, *Elizabeth*, our most gracious and soueraigne Ladie, second Daughter to the noble and victorious Prince King Henrie the eight, to the great comfort of *England* enioyed her lawful, right, and iust title, being proclaimed Quene of *England*, *Fraunce* and *Ireland*, defender of the Faith, &c. Now ceased the time of greivous vexation both in soule and body, and the swete comfort that euerie godlie minde desired, did shewe it selfe shining in glozie and maiestie: the greater cause haue we therefore to loue and honour that gracious Ladie, who brought with her such aboundaunce of happines, as neither tongue can wortheilie expresse it, uoz any pen sufficientlie set it downe. Thankes be to God who preserved her Grace so wonderfullie, in the time of many threatned troubles and daungers, which by his prouidence she happilie escaped, to our no small ioye and perfect consolation: which trouble some time of her Graces suffering, I haue herto annexed, according as it is set downe by that worthy man Maister Iohn Fox in his Acts and Monuments, the remembrance whereof, may whet vs to be moze duetifull vnto her, then a number are, and reioyce in God for our deliuerance by her admirable patience.

¶ The myraculous preservation of
*Lady Elyzabeth, now our most dread and gracious
Queene of England, from extreme calamity and
daunger of lyfe, in the tyme of Queene
Marie her Sister.*

The blessed protection of almighty God, in preserving the Lady Elizabeth, in her manifold



At when all hath bene saide and told, what soeuer can be recited, touching the admirable working of Gods present hand, in defending and deliuering any one person out of thraldome: neuer was there since the memorie

mozie of our Fathers, any example to be shewed, wherein daungers and
 the Lordes mighty power hath moze admirable and bleſ troubles
 sedly shewen it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the
 comfort of all good hearts, and to the publique felicitie of
 this whole Realme, then in the miraculous custodie and
 outſcape of this our ſoueraigne Ladie, now Quene, then
 Ladie Elizabeth, in the ſtraite time of Quene Marie her
 Siſter. In which ſtorie we haue firſt to conſider, in what
 extreme miſerie, ſickneſſe, feare and perill her Highneſſe
 was: into what care, what trouble of minde, and what
 daunger of death ſhe was brought. Firſt with great routes
 & bands of Armed men (and happy was he that might haue
 the carrying of her) being fetcht vp as the greateſt traitour
 in the world, clapt in the Tower, and againe toſſed from
 thence, from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, from
 poſt to piller, at length alſo priſoner in her owne houſe, and
 garded with a ſort of cutthrotes, which ever gaped for the
 ſpoile, whereby they might be ſingering on ſomewhat.

The troubles of
 Lady Elizabeth
 in Queene Ma-
 ries time.

Secondlie, to conſider againe we haue, all this notwithstanding, how ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſlie from dan-
 ger ſhe was deliuered: what fauour and grace ſhe found
 with the Almighty, who when all helpe of man and hope
 of recouerie was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty protection,
 and preſerued her Highneſſe, and placed her in this Prince-
 lie ſeate of reſt and quietneſſe, wherin now ſhe ſitteth, and
 long may ſhe ſit, the Lord of his glorious mercie graunt
 we beſeech him. In which ſtorie, if I ſhould ſet forth at
 large and at full, all the particulars and circumſtaunces
 thereunto belonging, and as iuſt occaſion of the hſtorie
 requireth, beſide the importunate length of the ſtorie diſ-
 courſed: peraduenture it might moue offence to ſome
 being yet aliue, and truely might gette me hatred. Yet
 notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Chriſte) therein
 to uſe ſuch breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the
 glorie of God, the diſcharge of the ſtorie, the proſite of the
 Reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome,
 whome here although I could recite, yet I thought not to

A Watch-woord

The History of
Lady Elizabeth.

Sir Richard
Southwell, Sir
Edward Hastin-
ges, and Sir Tho-
mas Cornwalles
sent to fetch vp
Lady Elizabeth.

The vnman-
lynesse of the
Knights.

be moze cruell in hurting their name, then the Quene hath bene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

Therefore now to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, that Quene Marie when she was first Quene, before she was crowned, would goe no whether, but would haue her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper: but after she was crowned, she neuer dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloofe from her, &c. After this it happened, immediatly vpon the rising of Sir Thomas Wiat, that the Ladie Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wiats rising. Wherevpon Quene Marie, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I knowe not, being offended with the Ladie Elizabeth her Sister, at that time lying in her house at Asbridge, the next day after the rising of Wiat, sent to her three of her Counsaillours, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, then Maister of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwalles, with their retinue and troupe of Horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fiftie. Who at their suddaine and vnprouided comming, found her at the same time sore sicke in her bedde, and verie weake & feeble of body. Whether when they came, ascending vp to her Graces priue Chamber, they willed one of her Ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto her Grace, that there were certaine come from the Court, which had a message from the Quene. Her Grace hauing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit being then verie sicke, and the night farre spent (which was at ten of the clock) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the same messenger sent word againe, that they must needs see her, & would so do, in what case so ever she were. Whereat the Lady being agast, went to shew her Grace their wordes: but they hastlie following her, came rushing as soone as she into her Graces chamber, vnbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her chamber, her Grace being not a little amazed,

amazed, saide vnto them: As the haste such, that it might not haue pleased you to come to morrowe in the morning: They made answer, that they were right sozie to see her in that case. And I (quoth she) am not glad to see you heere at this time of the night. Wherevnto they answered, that they came from the Queene to doe their message & duty: which was to this effect, that the Queenes pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Wherevnto she said: Certes, no creature more glad then I to come to her Maestie, being right sozie that I am not in case at this time to waite on her, as you your selues doe see, and can well testifie. In deed we see it true (quoth they) that you doe say, for which we are verie sozie. Albeit we let you vnderstand, that our Commission is such, and so strait, neth vs, that we must needs bring you with vs, either quicke or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfullie saide, that their Commission was verie soze: but yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be other wise, & not so strait. Yes verilie, said they. Wherevpon they called for two Physicians, Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendie, and demanded of them, whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and iudgement was, that there was no impediment to their iudgement, to the contrarie, but that she might trauaile without daunger of life. In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the morning, at nine of the clocke to goe with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queenes Litter for her. After much talke, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and daies, so departed to their Chamber, being entertained and cheered as appertained to their worshippes. On the next morrowe at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, verie faint and feeble, and in such case, that she was readie to swoound three or foure times betwene them. What should I speake heere that cannot well be expressed? What an heauie house there was, to behold the vnrerent and dolefull dealing of these men, but especially the carefull feare and captiuitie of their

A strait Commission from the Queene, to bring the Lady Elizabeth either quick or dead.

The gentlenesse of Queene Mary to send her horse Litter to bring her Sister to trouble.

A Watch-woord

innocent Ladie and Mistresse.

Lady Elizabeth,
taketh her iour-
ney toward the
Queene.

Lady Elizabeth
brought vp to
London.

Sir William
Sentlowe comit-
ted to the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth
charged with Sir
Thomas Wiats
conspiracie.
Lady Elizabeth,
charged with the
businesse of Sir
Peter Carew.

Now to proceede in her iourney from *Ashbridge*, all sicke in a Litter, she came to *Redborne*, where she was garded all night. From thence to *S. Albones*, to Sir Ralphe Rowlets house, where she taried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortlesse in minde. From that place they passed to Maister Doddes house at *Mymmes*, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to *Highgate*, where she being verie sicke, taried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode there, came many Pursuiuants & Messengers from the Court: but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conueied to the Court, where by the way came to meete her many Gentlemen, to accompany her Vignesse, which were verie sozie to see her in that case: but especiallie a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about the Litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie her estate. Now when she came to the Court, her Grace was there strait waies shut vp, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till *Palme Sundae*, seeing neither King nor Queene, nor Lord nor friend all that time, but onelie then the Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Iohn Gage, & the Vicechamberlaine, who were attendaunt vnto the doores. About which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the Councel, to whose charge was laide, that he knew of Wiats rebellion. Which he stoutlie denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traitors and Rebelles: but being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday befoze *Palme Sunday*, the Bishoppe of *Winchester*, with nineteene other of the Councel, who shal be heere namelesse, came vnto her Grace from the *Queenes Maiessty*, and burdened her with Wiats conspiracie: which she vtterlie denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltlesse therein. They being not contented with this, charged her Grace with businesse made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the *West countrey*: which

which she also utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto her, that it was the Quēenes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the Tower, while the matter were furder tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said. That she trusted the Quēens Maiesty would be more gracious Lady vnto her, and that her Highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of her, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the Lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherewith they had burdened her, and desired them therfore to be a furder meane to the Quēene her Sister, that she being a true woman in thought, worde and deede towards her Maiestie, might not be committed to so noxious & dolefull a place, protesting that she would request no mercie at her hand, if she should be proued to haue consented vnto any such kinde of matter, as they had laide vnto her charge. And therfore in fine, desired their Lordshippes to thinke of her what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt with all for her trueth. Wherevnto the Lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the Quēenes Maiestie was fullie determined, that she should goe vnto the Tower: wherewith the Lordes departed with their cappes hanging ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an houre or more, came forth of the foresaide Lords of the Councell, which were y^e Lord Treasurer, the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Steward, & the Earle of Sussex, with the Garde, who warding the next Chamber to her, secluded all her Gentlemen and Peomen, Ladies and Gentlewomen: leaving that for one Gentleman Vsher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, were appointed three other men of the Quēenes, and three waiting Women, to giue attendance vpon her, that none should haue accesse to her Grace. At which time, there was an hundred of Scottish Soldiours in white coates, watching and warding about the Gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the Hall, and two certaine Lordes watching.

Lady Elizabeth
threatned to goe
to the Tower.

Lady Elizabeth,
purgeth her selfe
to the Lordes.

Lady Elizabeths
seruants remo-
ued from her.

The Quēenes
men and women
attendant vpon
the Lady Eliza-
beth.

A Watch-woord

ching there also, with their band and company.

The hard dealing of a certaine Lord with the Lady Elizabeth.

The Earle of Sussex gentle to the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth writeth to the Queene, but it would not seme.

Upon Saturday following, two Lords of the Counsaile, (the one was the Earle of *Sussex*, the other shalbe namelesse) came and certified her Grace; that forthwith she must goe vnto the Tower, the Barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarieth for no body. In heauie mood her Grace requested the Lordes, that she might tarie one other tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable: but one of the Lords replied, that neither tide nor time was to be delaied. And when her Grace requested him, that she might be suffered to write to the Quenes Maiestie: he answered that he durst not permitte that, adding, that in his iudgement, it would rather hurt then profite her Grace in so doing. But the other Lord more courteous and favourable (who was the Earle of *Sussex*) kneeling downe, tolde her Grace that she should haue libertie to write, and as he was a true man he would deliuer it to the Quenes Highnesse, and bzing an aunswere of the same, whatsoeuer came thereof. Whereupon she wrote: albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the Quene, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the Quenes Maiestie. And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they priuie appointing all things ready, that she should goe y next tide, which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being Palme Sunday, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart: She aunswering, if there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the Lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast vp her eyes toward the window, thinking to haue sene the Quene, which she could not. Whereat she saide: She meruailed much what the Nobilitie of the Realme meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be ledde into captinitie, the Lord knewe whether, for she did not? In the meane time commaundement was giuen in all *London*, that every one should

should keepe the Church, and carie their Balnes, while (in the meane season) she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the Tower. After all this, she took her Barge with the foresaide Lords, three of the Quenes Gentlewomen, and three of her owne, her Gentleman Usher, and two of her Gromes, lying and houering vpon the water a certaine space, soz that they could not shoot the Bridge, the Barge men being verie vnwilling to shoot the same so soone as they did: because of the daunger thereof: soz the sterne of the Barge stroke vpon the ground, the fall was so bigge, and the water was so shallowe, that the Barge being vnder the bridge, there staid againe awhile. At landing, she first staid, & denied to land at those staires, where all traitours and offendours customablie vse to land, neither well could she, vnlesse she would goe ouer her shoues. The Lordes were gone out of the Barge before, and asked why she came not? One of the Lordes went backe againe to her, & brought word she would not come. Then saide one of the Lordes, which shalbe namelesse, that she should not chuse, and because it rained, he offred to her his cloake, which she (putting it backe with her hand with a good dashe) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, saide: Heere landeth as true a Subiect (being prisoner) as euer landed at these staires, & before thee O God I speake it, hauing no other friends but thee alone. To whome the same Lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better soz her. At her landing, there was a great multitude of their seruants and Warders standing in their order. What needed all this (saide she.) It is the vse (saide some) so to be, when any prisoner came thither. And if it be soz my cause (saide she) I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired GOD to preserue her Grace: but the next day they were (therefore) released of their olde coates. After this, passing a little further, she satte downe vpon a colde stone, and there rested her selfe. To whom the Lieuetenant then being, said: Madame, you

Lady Elizabeth
sent to the
Tower.

The wordes of
Lady Elizabeth
entring the
Tower.

G. J.

were

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The christian
prayer of Lady
Elizabeth.

The Lord of Suf-
sex speaketh for
Lady Elizabeth.

were best to come out of the raine, for you sit unhollously. She then replying, answered againe: Better sitting heere then in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whether you will bring me. With that her gentleman which wept, she demaunding of him what he meant, to vse her so vncomfortable, seeing she tooke him to be her comforter, and not to dismay her, especiallie for that she knewe her trueth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for her: but forth she went into the prison. The doores were locked and bolted vpon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her Grace, at what time she called to her gentlewoman for her Booke. Desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation vpon the sandes, but vpon the rocke, whereby all blastes of blustering weather should haue no power against her. The doores being thus locked, and she close shut vp, the Lords had great conference how to keepe warde and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing straitlie and circumspectlie to keepe her. Then one of them, which was the Lord of Suff: x, swearing, saide: My Lordes let vs take heede, and doe no more then our Commission will beare vs, whatsoeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the King our Maisters Daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing, that we may aunswere vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwaies aunswerable. Wherevnto the other Lordes agreede that it was well saide of him, and therevpon departed. Being in the Tower, within two daies commaundement was, that she should haue Masse within her house: one Maister Young was then her Chaplaine, and because there was none of her men so well learned, to helpe the Priest to saye Masse, the Masse staied for that day. The next day two of her Peomen, who had gone long to schoule before, and were learned, had two Abcies provided and deliuered them, so that vpon the Abcies they should helpe the Priest. One of the saide Peomen, holding the Abcie in his hand, pretending ignoraunce at Kirieleysen, set the Priest,

making

making as though he could answer no further.

It would make a pittifull and a straunge storie, here by the way to touch and recite, what examinations and rackings of poore men there were, to finde out that knife that should cut her throat: what gaping among my Lords of the Clergie, to see the day when they might wash their goodlie white Rochets in her innocent blood. But especiallie the Bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellour, ruler of the roste, who then within fewe dayes after came vnto her, with diuers other of the Councell, and examined her of the talke that was at *Asbridge*, betwixt her and Sir Iames Acroft, concerning her remouing from thence to *Dunnington Castell*, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby? At the first, she being so suddenly asked, did not wel remember any such house: but within a while, well aduising her selfe, she said. In deede (quoth she) I doe now remember that I haue such a Place, but I neuer lay in it in all my life: and as for any that hath moued me therevnto, I doe not remember. Then to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir Iames Acroft: the Bishop of Winchester demaunded of her, what she said to that man? She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to y^e rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. But my Lordes (quoth she) you doe examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinkes you doe me great iniurie. If they haue done euill, & offended the Quenes Maiestie, let them answer to it accordingly: I beseech you my Lords, ioine not me in this sort with any of these offendours. And as concerning my going to *Dunnington Castell*, I doe remember that Maister Hobby and mine Officers, and you Sir Iames Acroft had such talke: but what is that to the purpose (my Lords) but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times? The Lord of *Arundel* kneeling downe, saide: Your Grace sayth true, and certainlie we are verie sorry, that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: My Lords, you doe sift me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall doe no more to me then

The Bishop of Winchester enemy to Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth examined by the Bishop of Winchester.

The freendly speech of the Earle of Arundel to Lady Elizabeth.

G.ij.

God

A Watch-woord

Sir Iames Acroft
examined tou-
ching the Lady
Elizabeth.

These were not
the officers of
the Tower, but
such as went in
white & greene.

Lady Elizabeths
seruaunts restrai-
ned from brin-
ging her diet to
the Tower.

Displeasure be-
tweene the Lord
Chamberlaine
and the Lady
Elizabeths men.

God hath appointed, & so God forgive you all. At their departure, Sir Iames Acroft kneeled downe, declaring that he was verie sozie to see the daye, in which he should be brought as a witnesse against her Grace. But I assure your Grace (saide he) I haue bene meruailouslie tossed and examined touching your Highnesse, which the Lord knoweth is very straunge to me. For I take God to record before all your Honours, I doe not knowe any thing of that crime that you haue laide to my charge, and will ther vpon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strait a triall.

That day or there about, diuers of her owne Officers, who had made prouision for her diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the Tower, the common rascall soldiours receiuing it: which was no small grieue to the gentlemen, the bringers therof, wherfore they required to speake with the Lord Chamberlaine, being then Constable of the Tower. Who, comming before his presence, declared vnto his Lordship, that they were much afraide to bring her Graces diet, and deliuer it to such common & desperate persons, as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his Honour to consider her Grace, and to giue such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, which were appointed therevnto. Yea Sirs (saide he) who appointed you this office? They answered, her Graces Councell. Councell (quoth he?) There is none of them which hath to doe, either in that case, or any els within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shalbe serued with the Licutenants men, as other prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen saide, that they trusted for more fauour at his hands, considering her personage, saying: that they mistrusted not, but that the Quene & her Councell would be better to her Grace then so, and therewith shewed themselves to be offended, at the vngratefull words of the Lord Chamberlaine, towards their Lady and Mistresse. At this he swoze by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither Sonne nor Dohne. Thus taking

king their leaue, they desired God to bring him into a better minde towards her Grace, & departed from him. Upon occasion whereof, her Graces Officers made great sute vnto the Quenes Councel, that some might be appointed to bring her diet vnto her, and that it might no moze be deliuered vnto the common soldours of the Tower. Which being reasonable considered, was by them graunted, and therebpon were appointed one of her Gentlemen, her Clerke of her Kitchin, and her two Purueiours to bring in her prouision once a day: all which was done, the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The Lord Chamberlaine himselfe being alwaies with them, circumspectlie and narrotolue watched and searched what they brought, & gaue heede that they should haue no talke with any of her Graces waiting seruaunts, & so warded them both in and out. At the saide sute of her Officers, were sent by the commaundement of the Councell, to waite vpon her Grace, two Yeomen of her Chamber, one of her Robes, two of her Pantry and Chorie, one of her Buttry, an other of her Sellar, two of her Kitchin, and one of her Larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Lady Elizabeths
wayting men in
the Tower.

Here the Constable, being at the first not verie well pleased, with the comming in of such a company against his will, would haue had his men to haue serued styll with her Graces men: which her seruaunts at no hand would suffer, desiring his Lordship to be contented, for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their Offices. At which aunswer being soze displeased, he brake out into these threathing words: Well (saide he) I wil handle ye well enough. Then went he into the Kitchin, and there would needs haue his meat roasted with her Graces meat, and saide that his Cooke should come thither and dresse it. To that her Graces Cooke aunswered: My Lord, I will neuer suffer any straunger to come about her diet, but her owne swozne men so long as I liue. He saide, they should: But the Cooke saide, his Lordship should pardon him for that

Variaunce be-
tweene the Lord
Chamberlain &
Lady Elizabeths
seruaunts,

A Watch-woord

Lady Elizabeth
denied the liber-
ty of the Tower.

that matter. Thus did he trouble her poore seruants very skoutlie: though after wardes he were other wise aduised, & they moze courteously vled at his hands. And good cause why, for he had good chere, & fared of the best, & her Grace paid wel for it: wherfore he vled himselfe after ward moze reuerently toward her Grace. After this sort, hauing been a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therewithall: she sent for the Lord Chamberlaine and the Lord Shandoyes, to come & speake with her. Who comming, she requested of them, that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, so that she felt her selfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sozry that they could not satisfie her Graces request, for that they had commaundement to the contrarie, which they durst not in any wise breake. Furthermoze, she desired of them, if that could not be graunted, that she might walke but into the Quenes lodging. So no yet that (they answered) could by any meanes be obtained, without a furdur sute to the Quene and her Councell. Well (saide she) my Lordes, if the matter be so hard, that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that frendship be so strait: God comfort me, and so they departed, she remaining in her olde dungeon still, without any kinde of comfort, but onelie God.

Liberty graun-
ted to Lady Eli-
zabeth to walke
in a garden.

The next day after, the Lord Shandoyes came againe vnto her Grace, declaring vnto her that he had sued vnto the Councell for furdur libertie. Some of them consented ther vnto, diuers other dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But in conclusion, they did all agree, that her Grace might walke in those lodgings, so that he & the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Quens gentlewomen did accompany her, the windowes being shutte, and she not suffered to looke out at any of them: wherewith she contented her selfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. After wardes there was libertie graunted to her Grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shutte vp: which notwithstanding

ding was as much discomfort vnto her, as the walke in the garden was pleasaunt & acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were straightlie commaunded, not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till her Grace were gone out againe, hauing (in consideration thereof) their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus her Grace with this small libertie contented her selfe in God, to whome be praise therefore.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans childe in the Tower, to resort to their chambers, & many times to bring her Grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Wherevpon naughtie and suspicious heads, thinking to make & wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the childe vnto them, promising him Figges and Apples, and asking of him when he had bene with the Earle of Denonshire, not ignorant of the chilles wonted frequenting vnto him. The boie answered, that he would go by and by thether. Further, they demaunded of him, when he was with the Lady Elizabethes Grace. He answered: euerie day. Furthermore they demaunded of him, What the Lord of Denonshire sent by him to her Grace. The childe said, I will go know what he will giue me to carrie to her. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure yeres of age. This same is a crafty boie (quoth the Lord Chamberlaine.) How say you my Lord Shandoyes? I praise you my Lord (quoth the boie) giue me the Figges you promised me. No marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped, if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or to the Lord Courtney. The boie answered: I will bring my Lady my Mistresse more flowers. Wherevpon the chilles father was commaunded, to permitte the boie no more to come by into their chambers. The next day as her Grace was walking in the garden, the childe peeping in at a lyttle hole in the doore, cried vnto her, saying: Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but saide nothing, understanding.

Suspicious heads

A young childe examined for bringing flowers to Lady Elizabeth.

A Watch-woord

ding thereby what they had done. Wherefore, afterwards the L. Chamberlaine rebuked highly his Father, commaunding him to put him out of the house. Alas poore Infauant, (quoth the Father.) It is a craftie knaue (quoth the Lord Chamberlaine:) but let me see him here no more.

The Constable of the Tower discharged of his Office, and Syr Henry Benifield with his company placed about the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth both in great feare and doubt of her lyfe.

Lady Elizabeth in doubt of Syr Henry Benifield.

Lady Elizabeths prayer.

The fift daye of Maie, the Constable was discharged of his Office of the Tower, and one Sir Henrie Benifield placed in his roome, a man vnknowne to her Grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto her no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred Soldiours in blew coates, wherewith she was meruailouslie discomfited, and demaunded of such as were about her, whether the Ladie lanes Scaffold were taken away or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue played her part. To whome aunswere was made, that the Scaffold was taken away, & that her Grace needed not to doubt of any such tirannie: for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henrie Benifield was? And whether he were of the conscience or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof. She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was: howbeit they perswaded her, that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceed. Well (quoth she) God graunt it be so: for thou O God canst mollifie all such tirannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes. And I beseech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant and at thy commaundement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine. About which time it was spread abroad, that her Grace should be carried from thence, by this new iollie Captaine and his Soldiours, but whether, it could not be learned: which was vnto her a great greefe, especiallie for that such a company was appointed to her garde, requesting rather to continue there still, then to be led thence with such a sort of rascalles. At last, plaine aunswere was made by the Lord Shandoye, that

that there was no remedie, but from thence she must needs depart to the Manour of *Woodstocke*, as he thought. Being demaunded of her, for what cause: for that (quoth he) the Tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demaunded, wherewith: with such matter as the Quene and the Councell were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge, and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie Sundaye, being the nineteene daye of Maie, she was removed from the Tower, the Lord Treasurer being then there for the lading of her Cartes, and discharging the place of the same: where Sir Henrie Benifield (being appointed her Gaoler) did receyue her with a company of rakehelles to garde her, beside the Lord of *Darbyes* band, waisting in the Countrie about for the Moone shine in the water. Unto whome at length came my Lord of *Tame*, ioynd in Commission with the saide Sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of her to prisonne: and they together conueied her Grace to *Woodstocke*, as hereafter followeth.

Lady Elizabeth removed from the Tower to *Woodstocke*.

The first day they conducted her to *Richmond*, where she continued all night, being restrained of her owne men, which were lodged in out Chambers, and Sir Henrie Benifieldes Soldiours appointed in their rooms, to giue attendance on her person. Whereat she being meruaillouslie dismaied, thinking verilie some secrete mischeefe to be working towarde her: called her gentleman *Wlther*, and desired him with the rest of his company, to praye for her, for this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, saide: God forbid that any such wickednesse should be pretended against your Grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at last he burst into teares, & went from her downe into the Court, wher were walking the Lord of *Tame* and Sir Henry Benifield. Then he coming to the Lord of *Tame* (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a worde or two: vnto whome he familiarly said, he should with all his heart. Which when Sir Henrie (standing by) heard, he as-

Lady Elizabeth secluded from her seruants.

Lady Elizabeth in dispayre of her selfe.

A Watch-woord

Lady Elizabeths
Vsher talketh
with the Lord of
Tame.

The gentle heart
of the Lord of
Tame to Lady
Elizabeth.

Tanquam ovis,
Like a sheepe to
the slaughter.

Lady Elizabeth
honourably re-
ceined, and belo-
ued of the people

ked what the matter was? To whome the Gentleman
Vsher answered: No great matter Sir (saide he) but to
speake with my Lord a worde or two. Then when the
Lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise. My Lord
(quoth he) you haue bene aliwaies my good Lord, and so I
beseech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at
this time, is to desire your Honour, frendlie to declare to
me, whether any daunger is meant to my Distresse this
night, or no, that I and my poore fellows may take such
part as shall please God to appoint: for certainlie we will
rather die, then she should secretlie and innocentlie misca-
rie. Marie (saide the Lord of Tame) God forbidde that any
such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather then it
should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foote
also. And so (praised be God) they passed that dolefull night
with no little heauinesse of heart.

Afterward, passing ouer the water at Richmond, going to-
ward Windsor, her Grace espied certaine of her poore ser-
uants standing on the other side, which were very desirous
to see her. Whome when she behelde, turning to one of her
men standing by, she saide: Ponder I see certaine of my
men, goe to them, and say these wordes from me: *Tanquam*
ovis. So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged
there that night in the Deane of Windsores house: a place
in deede more meet for a Priest then a Princeesse. And from
thence her Grace was garded, and brought the next night
to Maister Dormers house, where much people standing
by the waie, some presented to her one gifte, and some an
other, so that Sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith,
and troubled the poore people verie sore, for shewing their
louing hearts in such a manner, calling them rebelles and
traitours, with such like vile wordes. Beside, as he passed
through the Villages, the Townslemen rang the Belles, as
being ioyfull of her conuning, thinking verilie it had bene
other wise then it was in deede, as the sequell proued after
to the saide poore men. For immediatlie the said Sir Henry
hearing the same, sent his Soldiours thether, who appre-
hended

hended some of the Kinges, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vn courteously misusing other some for their good willes. On the next morrowe, her Grace passing from Maister Dormers (where for the time of her abode there, was a strait watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames house, where she laye all that night, being verie Princelie entertained, both of Knightes and Ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henrie Benifield grunted, and was highlie offended, saying vnto them: That they could not tell what they did, and were not able to aunswer their dowings in that behalfe. Letting them to vnderstand, that she was the Quenes Maiesties prisoner, and no other wise: aduising them therefore to take heed, and beware of afterclappes. Wherevnto the Lord of Tame answered on this wise: That he was well aduised of his dowinges, being ioyned in Commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that her Grace might & should in his house be merie. The next day, as she should take her iorney from Richmond toward Woodstocke, the Lord of Tame with another gentleman being at the Tables, playing and dropping vye Crownes, the Lady Elizabeth passing by, staied and saide, she would see the game plaide out, which Sir Henrie Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing droppe vye Crownes: Come on (sayth he.) I will tarie (sayth she) and will see this game out. After this Sir Henrie went vp into a Chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a Chayze, two Cushions, and a softe Carpet, very faire and Princelike: where in presumptuously he sat, and called one Barwicke his man to pull off his Bootes. Which as soone as it was knowne among the Ladies and Gentles, euerie one mused thereat, and laughed him to scozne, obseruing his vndiscrete manners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When Supper was done, he called my Lord, & willed him that all the Ladies and gentlemen should withdraue themselves euerie one to his lodging: meruailling much that he would permit there such a company, considering so great a

The gentle entertainment of Lady Elizabeth at the Lord of Tames house.

Sir Henrie Benifield grudged at the gentle entertainment of Lady Elizabeth. The rude and vngentle behaviour of Sir Henrie Benifield.

H. y.

charge

A Watch-woord

charge committed to him, Sir Henrie (quoth my Lord) content your selfe, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my Soldiours (quoth Sir Henrie) shall watche all night. The Lorde of *Tame* answered: it shall not neede. Well (saide he) neede or neede not, they shall so do: mistrusting belyke the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

Lady Elizabeth
commeth to
Woodstocke.

The strait watch
kept at Wood-
stocke.

A merie storie
concerning the
straite keeping
of the Lady
Elizabeth.

The next daye her Grace tooke her iourney from thence to *Woodstocke*, where she was inclosed, as befoze in the *Tower of London*: the Soldiours garding and warding both within and without the walles, euery day to the number of thre score, and in the night without the walles soztie, during the time of her imprisonment there. At length, she had gardens appointed for her to walke in, which was verie comfortable to her Grace: but alwaies when she did recreate her selfe therein, the doores were fast locked vp, and in as strait manner as they were in the *Tower*, being at least fve or sixe lockes betwene her lodging and her walkes, Sir Henry himself keeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her Gaoler: and he kneeling downe, desire her Grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From such Officers (quoth she) good Lord deliuer me.

And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the Reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same, occasion heere moueth, or rather enforceth me, to touch brieflye what happened in the same place and tyme by a merie conceited man, being then about her Grace. Who noting the strait and straunge keeping of his Lady & Mistresse by the said Sir Henrie Benifield, with so many locks & doores, with such watch and warde about her, as was straunge and wonderful: espied a Goate in the warde where her Grace was, and whether to refresh her oppressed minde, or to notifie her strait handling by Sir Henrie, either els both, he tooke it vpon his necke, and followed her Grace therewith, as she was going into her lodging. Which when she sawe,

saue, she asked him what he would doe with it, willing to let it alone. Vnto whome the same partie answered: No by Saint Marie (if it like your Grace) will I not, for I cannot tell whether he be one of the Quænes frændes or no, I will carrie him to Sir Henrie Benifield (God willing) to knowe what he is. So leauing her Grace, he went with the Coate on his necke, and carried it to Sir Henrie Benifield: who when he saue him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there? Vnto whome the partie answered, saying: Sir (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is, I praye you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Ladies Grace was walking, & what talke they haue had I cannot tell, for I vnderstand him not, but he should seeme to me to be some straunger, and I thinke verilie a Welch man, for he hath a white fræse coate on his backe. And for so much as I being the Quænes subiect, and perceiuing the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no straunger should haue accesse vnto her without sufficient lycence: I haue hère found a straüger (what hee is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking, and therfore for the necessarie discharge of my duety, I thought it good to bring the said straunger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he let him downe. At which words Sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I see, and so they departed.

The straitnesse of Sir Henrie Benifield merelie noted.

Nowe to returne to the matter from whence we haue digressed, after her Grace had bene there a time, she made sute to the Councell, that she might be suffered to write to the Quæne: which at last was permitted. So that Sir Henrie brought her pen, inke and paper, and standing by her whyle she wrote (which he straitlie obserued) alwayes she being wearie, he would carrie away her Letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing therof, he would haue been messenger to the Quæne of the same, whose request her Grace denied, saying: One of her owne men should carrie them, and that she would

Lady Elizabeth. with much adoo, suffered to write to the Quæne.

A Watch-woord

The cruell dealing of Sir Henrie Benfield to the Lady Elizabeth, reprov'd.

The Letters of Lady Elizabeth carried to the Queene.

Doctor Owen & Doctor Wendie, Queene Marias Physicians sent to Lady Elizabeth

neither trust him, nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe, saide: None of them durst be so bolde (he trowed) to carie her Letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I haue none so dishonest, that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serue me now as before. Well (saide he) my Commission is to the contrarie, and I may not so suffer it. Her Grace replying againe, saide: You charge me verie often with your Commission, I praye God you may iustlie aunswere the cruell dealing you vse towarde me. Then he kneeling downe, desired her Grace to thinke and consider, how he was a seruaunt, and put in trust by the Quene to serue her Maiestie: protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willinglie serue her Grace, as now he dyd the Quenes highnesse. For the which his aunswer, her Grace thanked him, desiring of God, that she might neuer haue neede of such seruauntes as he was: declaring further to him, that his doinges towards her were not good nor aunswerable, but more then all the friends he had would stand by. To whome Sir Henrie replied and saide: That there was no remedie but his doinges must be aunswered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moued her Grace so to saye, was, for that he would not permitte her Letters to be carried foure or fve daies after the writing therof. But in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the Towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him, whether he durst enterprize the carriage of her Graces Letters to the Quene, or no: and he aunswered, yea Sir that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon Sir Henrie (halfe against his stomacke) tooke them vnto him. Then about the eight day of Iune, came downe Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendie, sent by the Quene to her Grace, for that she was sicklie: who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace fve or sixe dayes. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the Court, making their good report to the Quene and the Councell, of her Graces behaviour

behaviour and humblenesse towarde the Quenes Highnesse. Which her Maiestie hearing, tooke verie thankfullie: but the Bishoppes thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and tolde the Quene, they meruailed that she submitted not her selfe to her Maiesties mercie, considering that she had offended her Highnesse. About this time, her Grace was requested by a secrete friend to submit her selfe to the Quenes Maiestie, which would be very well taken, and to her Grace great quiet and commoditie: vnto whom she answered: That she would neuer submitte her selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For (quoth she) if I haue offended and am guiltie, I then craue no mercie but the lawe: which I am certaine (quoth she) I should haue had ere this, if it could be proued by me. For I knowe my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the daunger thereof, wishing that I were as cleere out of the perill of mine enemies: and then I am assured, I should not be so locked and bolted vp within walles & doores, as I am, God giue them a better minde when it please him.

About this time, was there a great consulting among the Bishoppes and gentlemen, touching a mariage for her Grace, which some of the Spaniardes wished to be with some Stranger, that she might go out of the Realme with her portion: some saying one thing, and some an other. A Lord (who shall be here namelesse) being there, at last saide: That the King should neuer haue any quiet Common wealth in *England*, vnlesse her head were stricken from her shoulders. Wherevnto the Spaniardes answered, saying: God forbid that the King their Maister should haue that minde, to consent to such a mischefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniardes to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne Country. From that day the Spaniardes neuer left off their good persuasions to the King, that the lyke honour he should neuer obtaine, as he should in deliuering Lady Elizabethes Grace out of prison: whereby at length she was happilie released from the same. Here is a plaine and euident example

The popish Prelates repyned against the Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth requested to submit her selfe to the Quene.

Councell of the Papists, to marie the Lady Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

Wicked counsell given against Lady Elizabeth

Spaniardes more fauourable to Lady Elizabeth then some Englishmen.

A Watch-woord

ample, of the good clemencie and nature of the King and his Councillers towarde her Grace, prayes be **G D** therefore, who moued their heartes therein. Then hereupon, she was sent for shortly after, to come to *Hampton Court*.

Lady Elizabeth
in daunger of
fyre.

Lady Elizabeth
in daunger of
killing.

An other conspi-
racie of murder
against Lady
Elizabeth.

But before her removing from *Woodstocke*, we will a litle stay, to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time she there remained. First thow we fire, which began to kindle betwene the wordes and seeling, vnder the Chamber where she laye: whether by a sparke of fire gotten into a crevis, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth knowe. Neuerthelesse, a worshipfull Knight of *Derfordshire*, which was there ioyned the same tyme with Sir Henrie Benifield, in keeping that Ladie (who then tooke vp the wordes and quenched the fire) herilie supposed it to be done of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Penny, a keeper of *Woodstocke*, a notorious Ruffian, and a butcherlie wretch, that was appointed to kill the Ladie Elyzabeth: who both saue the man, being often in her sight, and also knewe thereof. An other time one of the priue Chamber, a great man about the Queene, and cheefe darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Maister James Basset, came to *Blandenbridge* a mile from *Woodstocke*, with twentie or thirtie priue coates, and sent for Sir Henrie Benifield to come and speake with him. But as God would, who disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will, so it happened, that a litle before, the saide Sir Henrie Benifield was sent for by a Poste to the Councell, leauing strait word behinde him with his Brother, that no man whatsoeuer he were, though conning with a Bill of the Queenes hande, or any other warrant, should haue accesse to her before his returne againe. By reason whereof so it fell out, that Sir Henrie Benifieldes Brother conning to him at the Bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in: who otherwise (as it is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murder the innocent Ladie.

At

At what time likewise that the Lady Elizabeth was in the Tower, a Writ came downe subscribed with certaine handes of the Councel, for her execution: which if it were certaine as it is reported, *Winchester* (no doubt) was deviser of that mischeuous drift. And doubtles the same *Achitophell* had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie prouidence of Almighty God (who is alwaies stronger then the deuill) stirred by *Maister Bridges*, Liuetenaunt the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the Quene, to giue certificate therof, and to know further her consent for her Sisters death. Whereupon it followed, that all that deuise was disappointed, and *Winchesters* deuillish platfome (which he saide he had cast through the Lordes goodnesse) came to no effect. Where mozeouer is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this Lady and Princeesse, one *Maister Edmund Tremain* was on the Rake, and *Maister Smithwike*, and diuers other in the Tower were examined, and diuers offers made them, to accuse the guiltlesse Lady, being in her captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as she the same time lying at *Woodstocke*, had certaine intelligence, by the meanes of one *Iohn Gayer*: who vnder a coulozable pretence of a Letter to *Mistresse Cleue* from her father, was let in, and so gaue them secretlie to vnderstand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from *Woodstocke*, wrote these Verses with her Diamond in a glasse windowe.

Lady Elizabeth preserved by the Lordes prouidence, from execution in the Tower.

Winchesters platfome ouerthrowne.

{ Much suspected by me : }
{ Nothing prooued can be. }

Quod Elizabeth prisoner.

Verses written by Lady Elizabeth in the glasse windowe.

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at *Woodstocke*. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the Lord of *Tame* had laboured to the Quene, and became suretie for her, to haue

J. J.

her

A Watch-woord

Lady Elizabeth
not suffered to
come to the Lord
of Tames house.

Lady Elizabeth,
wished her selfe
to be a Mylke
maide.

her from *Woodstocke* to his house, and had obtained his graunt thereof: whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all thinges ready in expectation of her coming. But thow the procurement either of Sir Henrie Benifield, or by the doing of *Vinchester* her mortall enemye, Letters came ouer night to the contrarie, whereby her iourney was staide. Thus this worthy Lady oppressed with continuall sorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourse to any frendes she had: but still in the handes of her enemyes was left desolate, and vtterlie destitute of all that might refreshe a dolefull heart, fraught full of terror and thraldome. Whereupon no mervaille, if she hearing upon a time out of her garden at *Woodstocke*, a certaine Milke maide singing pleasauntly, wished her selfe to be a Milke maide as she was, saying: That her case was better, and life more merier, then hers was, in that state as she was.

Now after these thinges thus declared, to procede further where we lefte before, Sir Henrie Benifield and his Soldiours, with the Lord of *Tame*, and Sir Ralphe Chamberlaine garding and waiting upon her: The first night from *Woodstocke*, she came to *Ricotte*. In which iourney such a mightie winde did blowe, that her seruants were faine to holde downe her cleathes about her: in so much, that her Hood was twise or thrise blowne from her head. Whereupon she desirous to returne to a gentlemans house there nere, could not be suffered by Sir Henrie Benifield so to do: but was constrained vnder a hedge, to trim her head as well as she could. After this, they iourneied the next night to *Dalster Dormers*, and so to *Colbrooke*, where she laye all that night at the George. And by the way coming to *Colbrooke*, certaine of her Graces Gentlemen and Yeomen mette her, to the number of thre score, much to all their comfortes, who had not sene her Grace of long season before: notwithstanding, they were commaunded in the *Queenes* name immediatlie to depart the Towne, to both their & her Graces no little heauinesse, who could not be

he suffered once to speake with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentlemaun *Wisher*, three gentlewomen, two *Gromes*, and one of her *Wardroppe*, the *Soldiours* watching and warding round about the house, and she close shut up within her prison. The next day following, her Grace entred *Hampton Court* on the backe side, into the *Princes* lodging, the doores being shut to her, and she garded with *Soldiours* as befoze, lay there a fortnight at the least, or ever any had recourse unto her. At length came the *Lord William Haward*, who meruailous honourable vsed her Grace: whereat she tooke much comfort, and requested him to be a meane, that she might speake with some of the Councell. To whome (not long after) came the *Bishop of Winchester*, the *Lord of Arundell*, the *Lord of Shrewesburie*, and *Secretarie Peter*, who with great humilitie humbled themselves to her Grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said. My Lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me thinks I haue bene kept a great while from you desolately alone. Wherefoze I would desire you, to be a meane to the King and *Queenes Maiesties*, that I may be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue bene kept a long space, as to you my Lordes it is not vnknowne. When she had spoken, *Stephen Gardiner* the *Bishoppe of Winchester* kneeled downe, and requested that she would submit her selfe to the *Queens Grace*, and in so doing, he had no doubt but her *Maiestie* would be good unto her. She making answer: That rather then she would so do, she would lie in prison all the dayes of her life, adding: That she craved no mercie at her *Maiesties* hand, but rather desired the lawe, if euer she had offended her *Maiestie*, in word, thought, or deeде. And besides this, in yelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offendour, which neuer was towards her *Maiestie*: by occasion whereof, the King and *Queene* might euer hereafter conceine of me an euill opinion. And therefore I say my Lordes, it were better for me to lie in prison for the trueth, then to be abroad and suspect-

The Lord William Haward gentle and favourable to Lady Elizabeth,

Lady Elizabeth requested by Winchester, to submit her selfe to the *Queenes* mercie.

Lady Elizabeth standeth to be tryed by the lawe.

A Watch-woord

ted of my Prince. And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the Queene.

Talke againe
betweene Win-
chester and Lady
Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
denieth to con-
fesse any fault
doone to the
Queene.

Lady Elizabeth
sent for to the
Queene.

On the next day, the Bishop of Winchester came againe vnto her Grace, and kneeling downe, declared that the Queene meruailed, that she would so stoutlie vse her selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should seeme, the Queenes Maiestie wrongfullie to haue imprisoned her Grace. Nay (quoth the Lady Elizabeth) it pleaseth her to punish me as she thinketh good. Well (quoth Gardiner) her Maiestie willeth me to tell you, that you must tel an other tale, ere that you be set at libertie. Her Grace answered, that she had as lief be in prison with honestie and trueth, as to be abroad suspected of her Maiestie: and this that I haue saide, I will (saide she) stand vnto, for I will neuer helpe my selfe. Winchester againe kneeled downe, and said: Then your Grace hath the vauntage of me and other of the Lordes, for your so long and wrong imprisonment. What vauntage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record, I seeke no aduantage at your hands, for your so dealing with me: but God forgive you and me also. With that the rest kneeled downe, desiring her Grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed; she being fast locked vp againe. A seuen night after, the Queene sent for her Grace at ten a clocke in the night, to speake with her: for she had not seene her in two yeeres before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the so sudden sending for, thinking it had bene worse for her then afterward it proued: and desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to praye for her, for that she could not tel whether euer she should see them againe or no. At which time Sir Henrie Benifield, with Mistresse Clarencius comming, her Grace was brought into the garden, vnto a stayres foote that went into the Queenes lodging, her Graces gentlewomen waiting on her, her gentleman Usher and her Groomes going before with Torches: where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commaunded to staie, all sauing one Woman, Mistresse Clarencius conducted her to the Queens bed Chamber,

ber, where her Maiestie was. At the sight of whome her Grace kneeled downe, & desired God to preserve her Maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie her selfe as true a Subject toward her Maiestie, as ever did any, and desired her Maiestie euen so to iudge of her, and said: that she should not finde her to the contrary, whatsoeuer report other wise had gone of her. To whome the Queene answered: You will not confesse your offence; but stande stoutlie to your trueth: I pray God it may so fall out. If it doth not (quoth the Lady Elizabeth) I request neither fauour nor pardon at your Maiesties handes. Well (saide the Queene) you still stilie perseuer in your trueth: belike you will not confesse but that you haue bene wrongfullie punished. I must not saye so (if it please your Maiestie, quoth she) to you. Why then (saide the Queene) belyke you will to other. No, if it please your Maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burden, and must beare it. I humbly beseech your Maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true Subject, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life lasteth. And so they departed with verie fewe comfortable wordes of the Queene in Englishe: but what she saide in Spanishe, God knoweth. It is thought that King Phillip was there behinde a cloath, and not seene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie freend in that matter, &c. Thus her Grace departing, went to her lodging againe, and the seuen night after was deliuered of Sir Henrie Benifield her Gaoler (as she feared him) and his Soldiours, and so her Grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the Countrey, and had appointed to goe with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of Queene Maries Counsaillors, and one of her gentlemen Vshers, Maister Gage. And thus straitly was she looked too all Queene Maries time: and this is the discourse of her highnesse imprisonment.

Then there came to Lambeyre Maister Ierningham, and Maister Norris gentleman Vsher, Queene Maries men, who tooke away from her Grace Distresse Ashley to

the

Lady Elizabeth brought to the Queenes bed Chamber.

Talke betweene the Queene and Lady Elizabeth.

Small comfort at the Queens hand toward her Sister

King Phillip thought to be a freend to Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth by Gods prouidence set at libertie.

Sir Henry Benifield discharged.

A Watch-woord

Mistresse Ashley
sent to the Fleet.

Three gentle-
women of Lady
Elizabeths sent
to the Tower.
Note the won-
derfull working
of the Lordes
prouidence, in
sauing of Lady
Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth,
delyuered by the
death of Stephen
Gardiner.

How the Lord
heere beganne
to worke for
Lady Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
proclaymed
Queene, the same
day that Queene
Marie died.

as in the first
part of the
book is shewed

the Flēte, and thre other of her gentlewomen to the Tower: which was no lyttle trouble to her Grace, say-
ing, that she thought they would fetch away all at the end.
But God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gar-
diner, by occasion of whose oportune decease, the life of this
excellent Princeesse, the wealth of all England, was preser-
ued. For this is credible to be supposed, that the saide
wicked Gardiner of Winchester, had long laboured his
wits, and to this onelie most principall marke bent all his
deuises: to bring this our happy and deere Soueraigne
out of the waie, as both by his wordes and daile dwinges
sufficientlie appeared. But such was the gracious and fa-
uourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preservation, not
onelie of her Royall Maiestie, but also the miserable and
woofull state of this whole Iland, and poore Subiects of the
same, whereby the proude platfoymes, and pēuilshe practi-
ses of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but con-
trariwise, both he, and all the snares and trappes of his
pernitious counsell laide against an other, were turned to
a nette to catch himselfe, according to the Prouerbe: *Ma-
lum conciliū consultiōi pessimum*. After the death of this
Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awaie of
other her enemies, wherby by little and little her ieopardie
decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to ap-
peare, as out of a darke clowde. And albeit her Grace (as
yet) had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more
gentle entertainment dyd daile growe vnto her, tyll at
length to the moneth of Nouember, & seuentēne day of the
same, thre yeres after the death of Stephen Gardiner,
followed the death of Queene Marie. After whose deceasse,
succeeded her foresaide Sister Lady Elizabeth into her
right of the Crowne of England, who after so long re-
straintment, so great daungers escaped, such blustering
stormes ouerblowne, so many iniuries digested & wronges
sustained, by the mightie protection of our mercifull God,
to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath bene exal-
ted and erected out of thral to libertie, out of daunger to
peace

peace and quietnesse, from dread to dignitie, from miserie to Maiestie, from mourning to ruling: brieflie, of a prisoner made a Princesse, and placed in her throne Royall, proclaimed now Queene, with as many glad hearts of her Subjects, as euer was any King or Queen in this Realme before her, or euer shall be (I dare say) hereafter, the Lord long hold his hand ouer her, and send her to rule many and happie yeeres I beseech him. Amen.

The Lord make England thankful to him, for his great benefites.

In this pittifull and rufull Historie, thou hast (O England) three especiall thinges to consider. First, the hardnesse of the tyme then being, and the vnnmercifulnesse of those mens hearts, who prepared all their deuillishe policies, and inuented a world of wyles and deceites, whereby they might gaine oportunitie to destroy this worthy and famous Lady, whose innocencie could not appease their blood thirstinesse, nor whose vertues could not allwaie their cruell dealing: but euen as the wicked Iewes cried death against our Saviour, euen so these vnnaturall men did their vttermoost against this noble Lady. Secondlie, thou art to note her wonderfull patience, her assured trust in God, who neuer fayled her: and euen when death was most of all threatned to her, and that many occasions was giuen for her to doubt the same, her patience was not any iote the more moued, but being confident in God, to whome she referred the state of her innocencie, and extremitie of their rigorous intentes, she passed through all those agonies with a cheerefull and vndaunted heart, and their practices to feare her was not so horrible, but her patience in suffering was as admirable. Thirdly, they must remember, the ready working hand of God for her in all her daungers, how gratiousslie he prevented their deuises, and had such an especiall care ouer his Daughter, as no extremitie whatsoeuer could preuaile against her. For which exceeding loue towardees thee, how highlie thou art bound to his heauenlie Maiestie, the manifold happy blessings thou hast and dost receiue by her, can sufficientlie tell thee. But as I haue heretofore giuen thee to vnderstande, the punish-

Consideration of the hardnesse of the tyme then, and the cruell dealing against Lady Elizabeth.

Consideration of the wonderfull patience of Lady Elizabeth.

Consideration of the present helpe of God at all tymes to Lady Elizabeth.

punish

A Watch-woord

punishment of Treason and tretchorous practises, in the raignes of the Kinges befoze passed: so likewise I must crane leaue a little, to speake of such matters as hath happened since the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady and Quene, and then will we proceede on with the rest of our intent.

¶ Since the raigne of our most gratious and Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth.

Rebelles execu-
ted at Durham,
1570.

The fourth and fift day of Januarie, did suffer at *Durham* to the number of thre score and six Constables and other, who were pertakers in the rebellion in the North, with the Lordes of *Westmerland* and *Northumberland*: amongst whome an Alderman of the *Tolone*, and a Priest called *Plometree* were the most notable. Then Sir George Bowes Marshall, finding many to be faultors in the foresaide rebellion, did see them executed in euery markette *Tolone* and other places, betwixt *Newcastell* and *Vetherbie*, about thre score miles in length, and fortie miles in breadth.

Rebelles execu-
ted at Yorke.

On good Fridaie, the seven and twentie daie of March, Simon Digbie of *Askew*, Iohn Fulchorp of *Isilbacke* in the Countie of *Yorke* Esquiers, Robert Peneman of *Stokesley*, Thomas Bishopp the younger of *Poklington* in the same Countie of *Yorke* Gentlemen, were dratone from the Castell of *Yorke*, to the place of execution called *Knaues-myre*, halfe a mile without the Cittie of *Yorke*, and there hanged, headed and quartered: their foure heads were set on the foure principall gates of the Cittie, with foure of their quarters, the other quarters were set in diuers places of the Countrie: *Oscolph Clesbe* was with them dratone to the gallowes, and returned againe to the Castell.

Rebelles execu-
ted at Berwicke.

One Hillyard the Carle of *Northumberland* man, and a bagraunt person named *William Godswher*, were taken

ken among the other rebelles, and were brought to *Berwicke*. where they were executed the foure and twentie day of Maie.

The seven and twentie day of Maie, Thomas Norton and Christopher Norton of *Worshethere*, being both condemned of high treason, for the late rebellion in the North: were drawne from the Tower of London to *Tiborne*, and there hanged, headed and quartered.

The Nortons
executed.

A conspiracie was made by certaine Gentlemen and other, in the Countie of Norfolk, whose purpose was on Midsummer day, at *Harlestone* faire, with sound of Trumpet and Drum, to haue raysed a number, and then to proclaim their deuillish pretence against Straungers and other. This matter was vttered by Thomas Kete one of the conspiracie, vnto Iohn Kensley, who forthwith sent the same Kete with a Constable to the next Justice, before whome and other Justices, he opened the whole matter. Whereupon, Maister Dreugh Drewrie immediatlie apprehended Iohn Throckmorton, and after him many Gentlemen of the Cittie of *Norwich*, and the Countie of Norfolk, who were all committed to prison. And at the next Sessions at Gaole deliuerie at the Castell of *Norwich*, the seuentene of Iulie, before Sir Robert Catlin Knight, Lord chiefe Justice, Maister Gilbert Gerrard, the Quenes Attourney generall, and other Justices, ten of them were endighted of high Treason, and some others of contempt, diuers of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentie of August, and after ward three of them were hanged, bowelled and quartered, which were Iohn Throckmorton of *Norwich* Gentleman, who stode mute at his arraignment, but at the gallowes confessed himselfe to be the chiefe conspiratour, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of *Rolfebie* Gentleman, the thirtie daye of August, and George Redman of *Cringlefoord* Gentleman, was likewise executed the second day of September.

Conspiracie in
Norfolke.

A Watch-woord

John Felton executed in Paules Churchyard in London, 1571.

The eight day of August, John Felton, who before had been condemned in the Guild Hall of London, for hanging a Bull at the gate of the Bishoppe of Londons Pallace, was drawne from Newgate into Paules Churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning, before the Bishops Pallace gate: and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartered.

Doctour Storie executed at Tyborne, 1572.

The first day of June, John Storie, a Doctor of the Canon Lawe, who had bene a great persecutour of Gods flocke in the raigne of Quene Marie, hauing bene before condemned of high treason: was drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered, his head set on London Bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the Cittie.

Kenelme Barney, Edward Mather, and Henry Rolfe executed for treason.

The eleuenth day of Februarie, Kenelme Barney, and Edward Mather, were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and Henric Rolfe from the Marshalsea in Southwarke, to the same place of execution: where they were all three hanged, bowelled and quartered for treason. Barney and Mather for conspiracie, and Rolfe for counterfeiting the Quenes Maiesties hand.

The Duke of Norfolke condemned for high treason, and beheaded on the Tower hill.

The sixteenth of Januarie, the Lord Thomas Haward, Duke of Norfolke, was arraigned in Westminster Hall, before George Lord Talbot, Earle of Shrewesburie, high Steward of England for that day: and there by his Peeres found guilty of high treason, & had iudgement accordinglie. So on the Second day of June following, in the morning betwene the houres of seuen and eight, the saide Thomas Haward Duke of Norfolke, was beheaded on a Scaffolde set vp on the Tower hill.

The Earle of Northumberland beheaded at Yorke for high treason.

The two and twentie day of August, Thomas Percie Earle of Northumberland, late of Topcliffe, who had bene before attainted by Parliament of high treason, as being one of the principall conspiratours in the late rebellion in the North, and now brought out of Scotland, whether he had fledde: was beheaded at Yorke, about two of the clocke in the after noone, on a newe Scaffolde, set vp for that

that purpose in the Market place.

The eight and twentieth day of November, John Hall John Hall and Gentleman, and Oswalde Wilkinson late of Yorke, and Oswalde Wilkinson executed. Gaoler of Yorke Castell, being before arraigned and condemned of high treason: were drawne from the Tower of London to Tyborne, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered. 1573.

The sixteenth day of June, Thomas Woodhouse a Priest Thomas Woodhouse executed. of Lincolnshire, who had been long prisoner in the Fleet, was arraigned in the Guild hall of London, and there condemned of high treason: who had iudgement to be hanged and quartered, and was executed at Tyborne the nineteenth day of June. 1574.

Cuthbert Mayne, being condemned of high treason, the thirtieth day of November, was drawne, hanged and quartered at Lawnceston, in the prouince of Cornewall. Cuthbert Mayne executed. 1577.

The third day of Februarie, early in the morning, John Nelson John Nelson executed. being condemned of high treason against her Maestie: was drawne from Newgate to Tyborne, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered.

The seventeenth day of Februarie, one named Thomas Sherwood, having been before condemned of high treason, was drawne from the Tower of London to Tyborne, and was there hanged, bowelled and quartered. Thomas Sherwood executed. 1578.

William Lacie, and one Kirkman a Priest, being condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged and quartered at Yorke. William Lacie & Kirkman executed at Yorke.

Euerard Haunse alias Duckett, an obstinate and a wicked Traitor, having beene condemned of high treason, was drawne from Newgate to Tyborne, and there hanged and quartered, according to his iudgement. Euerard Haunse executed.

The first day of December, Edmund Campion Jesuite, Edmund Campion, Ralphe Sherwin, & Alexander Briant Seminary Priests, were drawne from the Tower of London to Tyborne, where they were hanged, and afterward were bowelled and quartered for high treason. Ralphe Sherwin, and Alexander Briant executed. 1581.

On Monday the eight and twentieth day of Maie, Thomas Foord,

B.g.

mas

A Watch-woord

John Shert, and
Robert Johnson
executed.

mas Foord, John Shert, and Robert Johnson Priests, who were copartners with Campion in his traiterous enterprises, were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, where they were hanged, bowelled and quartered for high treason.

Luke Kirbie,
William Filbie,
Thomas Cottam
and Lauraunce
Richardson.

1582.

John Slade, and
John Bodye exe-
cuted.

On Wednesday following, being the thirtie day of May, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Cottam, and Lauraunce Richardson, who were likewise of Campions confederacie: were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered for high treason.

John Slade, and John Bodye, two obstinate and notorious Traitors, being condemned of high treason: John Slade was drawne, hanged and quartered at Winchester, on Wednesday being the third daye of October, and John Bodye executed in like manner at Andover on the Saturday following.

Edward Arden
executed in
Smithfield, 1583

Edward Arden Esquier, being condemned of high treason, was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, where he was hanged, bowelled and quartered. And John Someruaile, who should haue bene executed with him, being condemned for the same offence, destroyed himselfe in Newgate the day before.

William Carter
executed.

William Carter, a Stationer by occupation, for printing of traiterous Bookes and other notorious offences, was drawne from Newgate to Tiborne, where he was hanged bowelled and quartered.

Haddock, Fenne,
Hemerfoord,
Nutter & Mun-
den executed.

On Wednesday being the twelfth day of February, Haddock, Fenne, Hemerfoord, Munden and Nutter, were all five drawne from the Tower of London to Tiborne, where they were hanged, bowelled & quartered for high treason.

Frances Throck-
morton execu-
ted. 1584.

Fraunces Throckmorton Esquier, for diuers traiterous practises attempted against the Quenes Maiesty, was arraigned and condemned in the Guild Hall of London, and afterward on the tenth day of Iulie, he was drawne from the Sessions house in London to Tiborne, where he was hanged, bowelled and quartered.

Where

Here mayst thou *O England* (as in a Glasse) behold the
 successe of treason from time to time, by these so many and
 sundrie examples here offered vnto thee, whereof full ma-
 ny remaine freshe and quicke in remembrance, thou maist
 discern, how God, who placeth Kinges and Princes in
 their seates and Signories, and by whose appointment
 they haue their ruling on earth: doth sharply chastise such
 wicked branches, as deales other wise then becomes them,
 with their Princes and Gouernours. Be their mindes
 neuer so hautie, be their deuises neuer so subtil, yea, and
 let them worke neuer so closelie: his eye discerneth them,
 and seeing their secreete intentions is against them whome
 he hath annointed, he bringeth them and their practises to
 open view, that the world may see their vnduetifull dea-
 ling, and by the punishment which he woorthely imputeth
 to such offendours, the rest may learne and dispose them-
 selues to better gouernement. But let me *England* come
 a litle nêrer thee, and order the matter so, as thou mayst
 finde thy selfe touched in deede. Perhappes thou wilt saye
 these thinges are done and past, and they were but a cer-
 taine felwe that thus haue offended, and being iustly scour-
 ged for their misdemeanours, they are now quite worne
 out of remembrance, in hope there remaineth none such
 as they haue bene. Alas, canst thou thus blindlie ouer-
 throwe thy selfe in conceite? Dost thou not consider, that
 all these euill impes haue bene of thine owne breeding,
 and that thou hast fostred such Children, as haue pierced
 into thy bowelles, shaken all thy sinewes, yea, and almost
 haue wung the verie marrowe out of thy ioyntes, where-
 by thou hast bene so feebled, and thy strength so farre de-
 cayed, as without Gods great mercie thou hadst bene vn-
 able euer to arise againe? And cannot these irking occasi-
 ons yet make thee mindful of thy good? Cannot these bitter
 passiôs cause thee to looke better to thy children? To traine
 them vp in more awe of God, in better affection to their
 Prince, and in more effectuall loue (then they yet shew) to
 thy

God sharply
 scourgeth al trai-
 tours, who prac-
 tise any euill
 against theyr
 Prince.

England hath
 bene greatly
 endangered by
 trayterous prac-
 tises.

AWatch-woord

The cause of an
euill cut off, the
effect can take
no place.

No greater eni-
mies to the safe-
tie of England,
then Papistes

The common
speech of Tray-
tors at theyr
death.

thy selfe: If thy childzen be so vnnatural, as to make their mother smart, thou shalt but shew thy selfe natural in misstriving correction: for better they weape, then thou bleed, so shall they in time finde it to their benefite, and thou thy selfe liue to be a happy mother. But if thou seeke that state of quietnesse, and art desirous to weede out such bad plants as trouble thy whole Hoyle: thou must looke into the dealings of thy Childzen more heedfullie then thou dost, and spying where the inconuenience lyeth, rather slip off that bzaunch suddenlie, then hazard the perishing of the whole body, and then thou shalt take an vndoubted good course: then treasons and fletcherous practises will neuer be so rise, and such queazie stomackes as cannot brooke necessary councell, but follow euerie disordered humour, wil be glad to call themselves home againe, and liue within compasse of duetie and modestie.

But whence grow these dangerous practises? And who are they that set foote in these traiterous attempts? Alas it is some scene, by reason the open apparaunce from time to time, doth make it euident. There is no one that repineth at her Maiesties safety, no one that lifteth at the wel settled gouernement of this Realme, nor any one more ready to pull downe y cheefe pillar of our happines: but either he is a Papist, or else meruailously addicted that way. And haue we not good cause so to perswade our selues, when we see it daylie before our eyes, that they are men of that coate, and eyther haue receyued encouragement amongst their fellowes beyond Seas, or else haue bene imboldened by such as secretly flippe ouer into the Realme, to follow that traiterous intent which they long time haue practised. And then when God reuealeth their wicked spirites, and bringeth them into the lyght that they may be example to other: then they crie out, I am a Catholique, I will dye in the Catholique cause, and thus vnder shewe of Religion, they would deceiue the world with their horrible treasons. It is now hie time therefore, when Traitors themselves haue giuen warning of their owne treasons, to search

search the confederacie, yea, and as Minours followe the signes euery way as they spread in the ground, till they be guided to the trunke or body of the Nettall: so to followe the apparaunces of suspitions and likelyhoods, tyll it appeare plainlie what light made the shaddowe, or what fire made the smoke. It is not good tarying, tyll the flame mounting in the ayre aboue the house toppe, the principals and pillers consumed, and eche part so imbraced with fire, that no aide dare appoche: do plainlie declare, the whole building past hope of recouerie. Fires oftentimes negligently raked vp, sticks ends not thoroughly quenched, embers not regarded, a candles ende not looked vnto: haue brought many an honest man to pittifull calamitie. I like therefore better the honest wisdom of those, that studie howe the Quenes Maiestie our most gracions Ladie may stand and not fall, then the reaching pollicie of those, that deuise how themselves may stand when the Quene is fallen. God preserue her Highnesse long, for her falling would make a Sampsons poste with vs all: yea, and rightlie a Sampsons poste, for no doubt it would brouse them too, that be busiest to pull it downe. But now (England) I will be so bolde as to emblazon the Papists a little better, that thou maist be the more heedfull to them, and giue no credite to their secrete perswasions, and according as a worthy learned man, hath heeretofore painted them forth in notable conclusions: euen so since the time, place & matter requireth it so fitlie, it shall not be a misse heere to remember thee of the verie same conclusions, and surelie all true Christians, and all true Englishe subiectes ought to beleue, and may well knowe, that these are verie true and vndoubted conclusions.

First that euerie Papist, that is to saye, euerie one that belæueth all the Popes doctrine, to be true: is an enimie and traytour, against the Maiestie and honour of God, against the Crownes and dignities of all Kinges and temporall Princes, and against the wealth and safetie of all ciuill Kingdomes, policies, and Common weales.

It is the duety of euery good subiect, to haue a speciall care of the safety of his Prince.

The first conclusion, of such as hold al the Popes doctrine to be true.

Secondly,

A Watch-woord

The second conclusion, of such as expect theyr Golden day.

Secondlie, that euerie such English Papist is a traitour to the *Queene of England*, and hateth her life, wissheth the alteration of her gouernement, and liueth in hope of an other world: which euen by an ordinarie by-word, it is said themselues doe call their Golden day.

The third conclusion, of such as would overthrow theyr Countrey, for their Idolatrous Religion.

Thirolie, that euerie such English Papist is a speciall traitour to the *Realme of England*, and hath no regard into what slaerie, subiection to foireine tirannie, dishonour or other miserie it be thowne: so that their false, Idolatrous & superstitious Religion be restored, with liberty to spoile and murder, without respect of dignitie, age, sex, learning, reverence, honestie or nature.

The fourth conclusion, of such as cannot be won to loue her Majesty.

Fourthlie, that no clemencie, gentlenesse, benefits, or louing dealing, can win a Papist, while he continueth a Papist, to loue her Maestie, how much so euer he dissemble, nor bring them to ascribe their safetie to any her benefits, nor to any praise of her owne goodnesse: but either to their owne dissimulation, practise, and falsehood, which some call cunning, or to the holinesse of their cause, for whome God foorth so prouideth, as his annointed ones may not possibly by Lawe, or at least execution of Lawe, be touched. Where in deede, if they continue styll unpunished, it must be thought that God so purueieth, because the punishments of this world are not sufficient for them: but yet in the meane time it serueth to make them vnexcusable, by whose default so dangerous Wolves remaine in the flocke.

The fift conclusion, of the property of papistry.

Item, that Papistrie hath this propertie of heresies, contrarie to the nature of Gods trueth: that is, to be thowne downe with aduersitie, and to flourish with indulgence and lenitie.

The sixt conclusion, of such Papists as are murderers of Gods flocke.

Item, that as it is reason, that the owner of a shepbitter Mastiffe, knowing his dogges qualitie: should either hang vp his dogge, or pay for the sheepe that his dogge worrieth. So those that haue notorious shepbiters, murderers of Gods flocke, in their custody and power, must make their account, eyther to hang vp, or otherwise dispatch their curres:

curres : or else to answer to God for the blood of his sheep, both such as they haue destroyed, and such as they may destroy by any possibilitie hereafter.

Item, that all aduises to great personages, to perswade neutralitie, or any entertaining of contrarie sides in Religion, with vncertainty of countenance and fauour : is the way to supplant assured safetie, to make sure enemies and vn Timer friends, to lye open to parasites and traitours, to be vnknowne to other, and to be vn Timer able to discern what other be to them.

The seventh conclusion, of the causes of supplanting assured safetie.

Item, that timorous policie is the worst policie that may be, whatsoener the cause be, good or bad, and worst of all it is in best causes. Wherein as her Maiestie hath neither want of constant magnanimitie, nor cause of feare : so is it meete that her enemies haue no stomacke to contemne her, nor by excess of clemencie, to misconstrue her goodnesse as lacke of daring.

The eight conclusion, how timorous policy is worst, in a good cause.

Item, that by the great nouelties and alterations of tymes, that haue happened within our memorie, there is risen a common policy among the people, to ioinie to strong and safe sydes, whereby they are aliened from the fearefull : and therefore it is to be prouided, that there be a boldnesse of safetie, to serue the Quenes Maiestie truelie and zealouslie, and an assurednesse of daunger to her enemies.

The ninth conclusion, of zealous boldnesse in seruing the Quene,

Item, by boldnesse, and sharpe execution vpon enemies, the friends are encouraged : and contrariwise, if the dangerous traitour be not remoued, the true Subiect may be left in perill, and thereby the rest of good Subiects disabled, or at least discouraged to venter so farre againe, and the freedome of consultation (in the meane time) for preserving the Prince, impeached.

The tenth conclusion, that boldnesse dooth encourage the frendes.

Item, that it is as trulie said : *Improbum hominem praestat non accusasse quam absoluere*. It is better not to meddle with a dangerous naughtie man, then to let him goe : for what were it else, but to set an house on fire, and run away by the light.

The eleuenth conclusion, of the daunger in meddling with a naughty man.

L.s,

Item,

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The twelfth conclusion, of time.

Item, that occasions and fitte oportunities ouer slipped, are not recoverable.

The thirteenth conclusion, as good the killing a true mā, as sparing a traitour.

Item, that many times it is as small an offence, to giue a warrant to kill a true man: as to pardon a murderer or a traitour: as a wise Sheeheard will rather giue leaue to a Hunter, to kill the best Lambe in his flocke, then to let goe a Fore or a Wolfe.

The foureteenth conclusion, that the life of a king, is the lyfe of his kingdome.

Item, that the liues of Kinges and Princes, are the liues and soules of their Kingdomes & Common weales, whereby they are to consider, that in being prodigall of their owne safeties, in excesse of clemencie to traitours, or in securitie of exposing their persons to perilles: *Largimur ex alieno*, they be lyberall of that, which is not their owne to giue.

The fiftieth conclusion, the most peryllous traitour.

Item, that no Traitour is moze perillous, then he that wresteth the Lawe, to raise an underminer of the Princes Crowne, to her daunger.

The sixteenth conclusion, of such as stand against the Princes defence.

Item, that he is iustlie to be suspected, that shall practise with any vaine devise of pacification, or coulozed clemencie, to rebate or blunt the edge of the Princes sword, or so to tye it in the scabberd, that it may not be drawne for her defence: as if such qualifiers, hidrs and cloakers, should like to abuse that most reuerend and holie figure of Maiestie to no good end, or other end then God ordained it.

The seuenteenth conclusion, when God is lesse serued then the Deuill.

Item, that God cannot well take it, if he be lesse zealouslie serued then the deuill, that there be lesse seruencie shewed by truelie learned Princes, for auancing of Gods honour against his enemies: then hath been by abused and deceiued Princes, for setting vp of the kingdome of the deuill and Antichrist.

The eighteenth conclusion, that no attempt against her Maiestie, ought to be accounted a priuate cause.

Item, that Gods commandments of placabilitie and forgiuenesse, extend to our owne enemies, but not to his enemies, against reuenge of private displeasures, and not against seueritie and sharpe execution, in cases of Gods honour and Common weales: wherein is alwayes to be noted, that the Prince is so not a priuate but a publique person, as no attempt against her Maiesties safetie, can or ought

ought to be accounted a private cause.

The full proofe and large explication of these conclusions, though it be easie, as a thing which not onelie all conueniencie of reason affirmeth, but also daylie experience layeth befoze all mens eyes, that haue a free consideration, not accombred with corrupt zeale and affection: so yet surely were it a meete thing to be handled by some man, as could adde thereto such ornaments of speeche, such strength of eloquence, and pith of perswasion, as might not onelie be vnderstode and beleued, but be felt and moued. Here any most excellent Orators speciall vertues might be well imployed. A fit argument sure it were to shewe wit and knowledge, but speciallie trueth & good meaning. But tyll some fit person shall take it in hand, to bestowe his more profitable trauaile that waie: let vs yet for vnlading of some of the aboundance of intire deuotion for Gods trueth, for her most excellent Maiestie, and our Countrie, haue some remembraunce of the particularities thereof.

For the first article that defineth Papistes, that accuseth them of treason to God, to Kinges, and to Realmes: if it be well weted, it cannot but quickly be seen for vndoubted trueth. Though it be true, that euerie one that holdeth any one error, or article of doctrine that the Pope teacheth, varying from the word of God, is in that article a Papist, as for example, the heresie of Transubstantiation, the blasphemie of popishe Masse, or any such other: yet count I not euerie such a one wholie a Papist within compasse of this article, that is, vnder the title of a traitorous Papist. But such a one as holdeth all the Popes doctrine to be true, that the Romane Church erreth not, that it hath rightfully such superiortie and primacie in others Kingdomes and Dioceses, as it hath prouidly claimed and vsurped, and that Christians are bound to referre their faith vnto it, and to hang vpon the Popes determinations, Many men otherwise good and honest Subiectes, are not purged of all errors, wherewith Rome hath infected them, and must haue

The meaning and proofe of the first conclusion.

Not all Papistes are traitours.

Note this England.

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their

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Which Papistes
are traitours.

Learned Papistes
wilfull traitours.

Treason, offence
against Maiesty.

Treason against
God.

their time to be better instructed. But those that are perfect Papistes, that publishe the Pope to be head of the Church (which yet in deede is no member of the true Church) and would haue vs with an implicite and bonde faith, to depend vpon that Sea, and for that reason will refuse by all meanes, to confesse the right of Princes in their Kingdomes ouer all their Subiectes: they be perfect traitours indeede, yea, and the learned sort of them be wilfull Heretikes and Traitors. For though in the darke times, when controuersies of Religion were not brought into searching, the streame of error carried men away without doubting: yet since that by debating, the lyght hath bene euidentlie opened, and men haue sought and throughe examined the matter, there is no learned Papist, but he knoweth that he maintaineth error, and in defending & spreading the same, he defendeth and spreadeth, and so directlie, aduisedlie, wilfullie and maliciouslie, putteth in execution to his vttermoost power, high treasons against God, against Kinges and their Kingdomes. Against God I call them treasons, though our Lawe, the iudge of ciuill treasons in England, haue no such name, because the nature of the offence so properlie receiueth that tytle, and also the vsuall name of high treason in *Iure gentium*, in the common lawe of Nations, and in other languages, doth so plainelie expresse it. High treasons are in their true nature, offences against high Maiesty, that is, either to the destruction of the persons, or deniall and defacement of the last dignities and authorities, of those that beare the name of Maiesty, and to whome the highest duetie of obedience, faith and alleageaunce extendeth. And therefore is treason called *Crimen lesa Maiestatis*, the crime of violating or abating Maiesty. Greater Maiesty then the Maiesty of God cannot be: therefore higher and verier treasons then against God cannot be. His person cannot be destroyed, or touched: but his dignitie, honour, glorie and authoritie, may be slandered and blasphemed, and his Subiects, who are mortall men, may be withdrawne from their due obedience,

dience, and drawne into rebellion against him. And this I say is high treason to God, to violate or abate the Maiestie of God: and this doe Papists. For though God be King of the whole world, and so is rightlie called the Lord by vniuersall name, yea, euen of deuilles: yet is his Church his more proper and certaine kingdome, whereby he is more restrainedlie and aptlie called our King and our Father, and so more fitlie called our head, in respect of the body, which is his Church, and not the rest of the world. In this kingdome, his highest dignity is to be the onely head thereof, which the Papists take from him, and deriue it to their Pope. And though with gloses they excuse it, that their Popes take it not from God, but vse it vnder God, as his Vicars: yet must they be admonished, that without sufficient deputation, and warrant from the King himselfe, (which the Pope hath not) the Subiect to thrust himself in to the gouernance of the kingdome, is high treason, where he that being a straunger would seek to conquire it, were but an enimie. And so is it rightlie to be saide, that the Turke is to God an enimie, and the Pope is to God a traitour, and all his adherentes are principall traitours: for treason admitteth no accessaries.

But now let vs come to that part, which toucheth men more neerelie then any loue of God. Let vs now see how they be traytours to Kings and Kingdomes. If we haue minde to see that Papistes, which holde all the Popes doctrine to be true, are traytours in dede to Kings and Kingdomes: it behoueth vs to call to minde what are the Popes doctrines, doings and practises concerning the Crownes of Kings, and states of Kingdomes. Popes haue challenged, and Papistes (that affirme the Popes to be free from error, their doctrine to be true, and their authoritie to be lawfull) doe also holde, that it is their due which they challenge, that is: To haue authority of both Swords, Spirituall and Temporall, the one in exercise, the other in power: To haue the disposition of all the Crownes of Christian Princes: To haue the iudgement of deciding,

Papistes violate the Maiestie of God, which is high treason against him.

The Pope an high Traitor against God, and the Turke but an enimie.

Papists Traitors to Kings and Kingdomes.

Traiterous doctrines of Popes, for Kings and Kingdomes.

A Watch-woord

The Pope will
giue heauen to
Subiectes, to re-
bell against their
Prince.

Traiterous doo-
ings of Papists
against Kings &
Kingdomes: spe-
ciall matter for
England to
marke.

to whome the right of any kingdome belongeth: To haue power for disobedience to him, or by his discretio, to trans-
ferre the Crownes of Kinges to whome he will: To haue lawfull power, to giue Kingdomes to prey, spoyle and con-
quest, to such as can intade and possesse them: To haue power to asloyle and discharge Christian subiectes, from faith and alleageance to theyr lawfull and natural Soue-
raigne Lordes, Kinges and Princes: To haue power to giue leaue, yea, commaundement, blessing, reward, for giuenesse of sinnes, and Heauen it selfe, to Subiects to re-
bell against their Prince, to depose the Prince, disherite and destroy him: That there is of common right, and by the mere lawe of God, reserued to the Pope a speciall sub-
iection, resort, appellation, and obedience of one great part of all Princes Subiectes, yea, and of all Subiectes of all Princes in one great part of theyr causes. Be not these heinous treasons? And these cannot be denied, to be the naturall and verie treasons of all Papists, that is to say, of all that depend vpon credite of the Pope, that hold him for Gods Vicar, for Peters succesor, for whome Christ praied, that his faith should not faile, that applie to him this tittle: *Ad quem perfidia non potest accedere*, to whome falsehood cannot reach, that holde him for a constant Roke, an assured Preacher of tructh, an Apostolicall man, if he be not some other thing then a man, to whome our beleefe is bounden: with such other false titles, wherewith Popes themselves, haue garnished themselves, and their Parasites haue ouerladen them.

Consider the ordinarie practise of Popes and Papistes according to these doctrines, and then you shall see, that from the most high treason, which the Pope committed against his Soueraigne Lord the Emperour: the renting and destruction of the Empire: all the victories & successes of the Saracens and Turkes against Christendome: all the tearing away of most noble and large Kingdomes and Prouinces, from the body of Christianity: all the subduing and thralling of infinite Christian soules, to Mahomet and the

the Deuill : all the deposinges, murderinges, turmoilings, ciuill warres, debates betwene Christian Princes, shedding of Christian blood, indignities and oppressions of Christian Kinges and Emperours, conquestes, rebellions and mischeeses, for these fine hundred yeres and aboue : are whollie and cheefelie to be imputed to the treasons of Popes and Papistes. All *Grecia* (sometime most noble and learned) yet lamentable rueth it. All *Africa*, the mother of most constaunt Martyres, feeleth it. The Germane Emperours, with most heinous reproches, and folwe treading on their neckes, may not forget it. The Kinges of *Fraunce* and *Spaine*, both at home in their native Kingdomes, and abroad, as well in *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Lombardie*, as in other territories of *Italie*, and of the Empire, haue sharplie felt it. The Lordes and States of *Italie*, haue bene daylie and long shaken with it. The Kinges of *England* haue bene poisoned, whipped, beaten with rods, murdered, deposed, the Land giuen in conquest, interdicted, made tributarie, robbed, pyllled and scraped of theyr treasure, brought into slauiſhe ſubiectiō, depriued of honour and estimation, euerie way most villainously abused. To let passe the elder times and further Realmes, let vs speake of deposing of olde Emperours, erecting of newe, setting the Sonne against the Father, the Subiect against his Lord, making them come bare footed, themselves with their wiues and children long waighting with submission in colde frostes, treading on their neckes, spurning of their Crownes, & a thousand such abhominable prides of Popes, and slauieries of Princes. Let vs deale but with our selues, and with our owne feeling, knowledge and memorie. The accursing of King Iohn : the receiuing him basail : the making his Realme subiect and feudatorie to the Pope : the arming his Subiectes against him : the poisoning of him at length : the giuing the Land to the French Kinges sonne : the inuading thereof by the Dolphin of *Fraunce* : his so long possessing a great part of it : the rebellion of the Barons to take the French mens part : all the

Behold the horrible pride and villainous dealing of Popes & Papistes, and slauiery of Princes.

Example of the Popes & Papistes dealing with King Iohn.

A Watch-woord

The great deu-
sion between the
two noble hou-
ses of Lancaster
and Yorke, cau-
sed by the Popish
Clergy and
Papists.

Thomas Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury, practi-
sed the deposing
of King Richard
the second.

King Henrie the
eight, assaulted
by the Pope and
Papistes.

King Edward the
sixt vexed by the
Papistes.

the mischeefes that fell in all this while, were they not the
good workes of Popes and Papistes? The great deuision
of the two noble houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, which cost
so much Englishe blood, that there remaineth no house of
high or meane Nobilitie, that hath not smarted for it. So
many foughten fieldes within the Realme, so long and so
great vncertaintie, which side were true men, and which
were Traitors, and for how many dayes or howes they
should be so esteemed: such desolation and miseries, to
whome are they to be imputed, but to the Popishe Clergie
and Papists, and among other to Thomas Arundel Arch-
bishoppe of *Canterburie*, that trayterouslie practised the de-
posing of his lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Richard the
second: But come yet to latter times. Howe was the
Queenes Maiesties most noble Father, assaulted by the
Pope and Papistes? His Realme was interdicted, and gi-
uen away to him that could catch it. Legates, and one no-
table English traitour, were sent about to perswade Chri-
stian Princes, to inuade *England*, to destroye and depose
King Henrie, and to take the Realme in rewarde for their
labour. When Charles the late Emperour was setting
forward against the Turke, Cardinall Poole being sent
by the Pope, made a solenne Oracion to him, which is yet
extant in print: to perswade the Emperour, to turne his
prepared power from inuading the Turke, and to bend it
against King Henrie the eight, as one worse then any
Turke. What turmoile was then raised by the Northren
Rebelles against him, whereof some by his clemencie (a
good example) haue liued to this day to raise a new rebel-
lion? How troubled they her Maiesties most excellent
Brother with vnhappy seditions? How vered they, and
how endaugered they the Realme, and the Quēns owne
person in her Sisters time, as in the storie before rehear-
sed you may reade at large? What might Charles the
Emperour haue done, for recovery and enlarging of Chri-
stendome, if his force that was intended, had not by the
Popes practise bene peruerterd sundry wayes and times,
to

to the shedding of christian blood, and wasting of Christendome, and to the ouerthrowe of his victorious course? **The conspiracie of the late Council of Trent.** What tempests hath the late conspiracie of Trent blowne vp in Christendome, that cannot be yet quieted: and all because the Pope hath instilled an opinion into his Papists, that Princes, if he dispence with them, are not bounde to keepe faith and promise, no, not the word of a King, where by no peace can be assured: Whereof yet ryseth one good admonition, to trust them no more, and to be well ware of them, and speciallie to thinke of this one particular: that wicked persons, who haue giuen occasion of dangerous rebellions against the Queenes Maiestie, their chiefe and onely succour and refuge, will neuer be withholden by any respect, from attempting, or procuring to be attempted, any most high and heinous treason and mischance, against our Soueraigne Ladies safetie, if an auantageable oportunitie may serue them, so long as such persons are infected with Papistrie, and can thinke the Pope able to pardon, or rather willing to reward them, yea, so farre as they shall suppose themselves, not onely to win the Kingdome of England thereby, but also the Kingdome of Heauen. It is perillous to thinke what traiterous rage may doe, being armed with drunken superstition. It is a sore thing to consider the impotencie of ambition, speciallie when it is ioyned with the furie of reasonlesse loue. **The common experience is, how dangerous those knots of thieues be, where there is a woman in the company.** Thus is it plaine, that for as much as the Pope claimeth such wrongfull usurpation and tyranny, ouer Kings & Realmes, and lieth Papists hold that he sayth true, and claimeth but his right, and cannot erre in discerning it: all such Papistes are Traitors to all Kinges and Kingdomes. **The whoore of Rome an actuall dealer in all wicked practises against Kinges & Kingdomes.**

As for the second Conclusion, which accuseth Englishe Papistes of treason to the Queenes Maiestie: it is sufficientlie proued, for that it is a perticular within a general, included in the former. Yet for the speciall confirmation of it, it hath certaine priuate and seuerall reasons. **The second conclusion, prouing Englishe Papistes traytors to the Queene.**

A Watch-woord

It is well knowne, and you haue read the whole discourse befoze, how they sought her Graces death in her Sisters time, what practises, what fetches were vsed for it, what examinations, what searchinges, were to finde couller of her destruction: yea, how farre without couller they proceeded, if God had not miraculouſlie kept her, to the preservation of this Realme, & the comfort of all Christendome. But to make some demonstration of their hatred to her Maieſtie by reason, & after to diſcend to the examples and practises: let vs examine the causes.

Papists that hold the Pope head of the Church in England, are traytours to her Maieſtie.

Whereas the Papistes holde, that the Pope is head of Gods vniuersall Church, and that such authoritie as the Quene claimeth in England, ouer Ecclesiasticall persons and in Ecclesiasticall causes, as due to her Highnesse in right of her Crowne, is not due to her, but belonging to the Pope: in so saying, they must saye that her Maieſtie claymeth an vniust tyrannicall power. And who so ever shall so saye, though not in the same sillables: is an vniust and an arrant traitour, and cannot loue her that hath pulled him downe whome they call head of their Church.

Papistes that hold the Popes excommunication against the Quene lawfull, are traytours.

Where the Pope hath accursed the Quenes Maieſtie, as an Heretique and Sismaticque, all those Papistes which suppose, that the Pope hauing the disposition of Gods sentence, and the thunderbolt of excommunication in his hand, cannot erre: doe also suppose that the Quenes Highnesse, (our Quene Elizabeth I meane) is not lawfull Quene of England, (as many of them haue not spared to saye) for so must all Papistes holde, that holde the Pope to say true, for the Pope doth not so accept her. As Papistes haue published, that Gospellers, whome they call Heretiques, ought not to haue any office among Gods people, much lesse a Kingdome. And this point is well to be considered, that they which take from the Quenes Maieſtie, the Supremacie ouer Ecclesiasticall persons and causes: doe transferre the same iurisdiction to the Pope, for they neuer yet bouchlaued to giue it to any other. And yet I am sure, that after so many examples of Bees and Beastes and other things,

things, they will not now haue any perticular Church headlesse, and destitute of a supream Governour: either vniuersall like a Monarch as they would haue it, or special vnder God of eche Kingdome or Dominion, as Gods good disposition hath forced it. If then the Pope haue (in their opinion) any Ecclesiastical iurisdiction in England, he must haue *Ius excommunicandi*, lawfull power and authority to excommunicate in England: without which the Ecclesiastical power cannot stand. Which power if he iustly haue, & hath excommunicated and accursed her Maiestie, either by especiall name (as he doth) or generally vnder tytle of Heretiques, of which sort he esteemeth her: then hath he therin done *Pro suo iure*, as he might lawfullie do. And this being so supposed true, then is it good to consider what is taken for Gods lawe, and the lawe Ecclesiasticall *De vitandis excommunicatis*, for shunning of excommunicate and accursed persons, which yeld not to any repentant submission, or reconciliation to the Church. Forsooth, that euery christian on paine of excommunication *De iure* (wherein to dye, is thought to dye in state of damnation) is bound to withdraue from such accursed persons not repenting, all frendlie or louing company and countenance, all ayde and reliefe, all seruice and obedience. Which doing, for these good Subiects of England, to put in execution toward the Quene, were a verie meritorious acte. But what doth it merite? The iust paines of treason, for breaking their due alleageaunce, and eternall damnation (if they repent not) for resisting Gods lawfull ordinaunce. This geere goeth soze, it is verie euident and plaine, that by necessarie consequence, to this confession of trayterousnesse they must be driuen, if they will continue Papistes, that is, will affirme the Popes sentences not to erre, or will giue the Pope any spirituall iurisdiction in England. But such salues are not vnlke to come out of his shoppe, that dispenseth with breach of faith, yea, that openlie proclaimeth, that there is no faith to be kept with Christs frends and his aduersaries. His shoppe that can send out badges,

The Pope cannot excommunicate in England, vnlesse he had iust authoritie to doo.

Papistes drawe obedience from the Quene.

Papistes meritorious treason.

A Watch-woord

with leaue to sweare and vnswear, with so lyberall permission, as to saye: Giue me thy heart and it suffyseth. And well may it suffice, for the heart will carrie the hand to, when oportunitie serueth, and when their Golden day appocheeth, of which they make so great account. Such fellowes would be well looked on. And because they cannot gette her Highnesse to cease to be their lawfull Quene, themselves haue ceased to be her actuall Subiectes. Because they cannot shifte her Maiestie from her Crowne, they haue shifted themselves out of her Highnesse Dominions, and are fled beyond the Seas. Some being there, send hither their hereticall, seditious, & traiterous Bookes: yet licenced there, against god president of Princes, and against the example of her Maiesties demeanour toward the same Princes, which by themselves or their Officers, rather ought to haue restrained such doings, then to leaue so shrewd occasion, of taking harme themselves by the like. In these Bookes her right is impugned: her faith is defamed: her gouernement is discredited: her honour is touched: her Maiestie is many wayes violated and abated: the Religion that her Highnesse holdeth and publisheth, is called Sismaticall, Hereticall, Deuillish, and with as many yll fauoured names as they can rehearse, being yet in such eloquence perfect Orators. The Preachers and professors of the Religion, that her Highnesse setteth forth and profesleth, are tearmed worse then Infidels: her tytle of Supremacie ouer all her Subiectes, is defaced for an usurped and vndue name, and her Subiects hearts alienated and perswaded to grudge against her. These wicked and traiterous Pamphlettes want no fauourers to spread them abroade, nor do they that disperse them lacke any boldnesse, to reade them in audiences & in coznors: where they commend them, defend them, giue them great praises for learning and substantialnesse, as matters vnaunswearable, when God he knowes there is no such surpassing excellencie in them, as they that haue the spurres yet sticking in theyr sides, and haue bene broken winded with ouer:

Seditious writers
that send theyr
trayterous Ly-
belles into Eng-
land.

The circumstances
of those trayte-
rous Bookes.

These trayterous
Bookes want to
faouurers to
spread them a-
broad, and to
credit them with
what comendati-
ons they may.

ouer-gallopping them, yea, they that are of their owne faction haue not been ashamed to speake it, how notablie they haue been wounded by many of her Maiesties learned subiectes. Neuerthelesse, they continue writing still, and all pretences that both the Pope and Papistes can deuise, are daily and hourely spread abroad in the Realme, to weaken the good willes of her Maiesties Subiects toward her, and by all false and vaine coullers they can imagine, they practise how to drawe moze subiectes to take their parts. But in the meane time, as God gathereth his glorie out of all things, yea, euen out of sinnes: so England, out of this great euill thou maist gather some good, a good example and good lesson for thee to learne, that Papistrie is treason, and he that is infected with treason is a traitour, and so prouide against them heerafter. Let them folow what humours they please, do thou in the meane time take a contrary course. Where they looke for an other time, do thou endenour to maintaine this time: Where they reach with expectation to altering of gouernement, do thou bend all thy force, policie and meanes of seruice, to the defence of this estate: Where they pray for change, specially of Quænes, do thou pray for the long and happy continuance of her Highnesse raigne: Where they hide rebellious stomackes, do thou and thy Children shew true and faithfull hearts: Where they desire, that her Maiestie and her Councell may be deceived, with flattering & erronious pretence of policie, and couller of clemency, that vnder y shadowe they may lurke, and be nourished as Serpent in bosome, do thou praye to God to giue iudgement to discerne them, to search the bottom of their treasons, that they may be shaken out, & vsed as dangerous bipers: Where their trust is in the Pope, and popish treasons and conspiracies, let thy confidence be in God and his prouidence, not shrinking from the same with thy best courage and prudence: Where they will not sticke to vse all subtil underminings, and will not lose the vauntage of times, that they may one daye triumph in cruel violence, do thou pray, that on this part be vsed all

The euill dealing of Papistes, a good lesson for England.

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good policies, that Gods offered meanes and good oportunitie be not refused and ouerslipped, that God rent not the Kingdome from his annointed, for sparing of his enemies: but that it maye long flourish in the hands of his most noble and vertuous handmaid, our most excellent and gracious Soueraigne Lady. Thus is it euident by reasons and examples, what hearts Papistes beare to her Maestie.

The third conclusion prouing English Papistes, traytours to the Realme of England.

The third Conclusion, that such English Papistes are traitours to the Realme of England, &c. hath receyued two proues already: the one in the general treasons of all Papistes to all Realmes, wherein England and English Papistes are included, the other in their traiterous mindes to the Queenes Maesties person and dignitie, who is the highest treason that can be to the Realme of England. Yet are there some other perticular doinges more speciallie to enforce it, namelie the experience that hath bene, of their casting away the care of their Countrie, and all other naturall affections: to the ende with all immanitie, and outrageous vnnaturall crueltie, to torment English Christians, and to subiect the Realme to forreine power, for their false religions sake. I am assured there are enow, and too many that can remember, both that they haue read in credible Histories, and seene in lamentable experience: howe the Papistes haue shewed themselves so addicted to their superstition, and so captiued to an vndue reuerence of their tyrannous Pope, that they haue for it reiected the care of their Countrie, and of those to whome naturall duetie bounde them.

The Papistes reuerence to theyr Pope hath made them carelesse of theyr Prince and Countrie.

It is certaine, that, that English man which can be contented for Papistrie, to rayse or fauour rebellion in our Countrie: to ioyne in conspiracie with Straungers, to helpe to inuade and spoyle our Countrie: to conuey the Crowne of our Countrie to a forreiner: to agree with them in faction, that offer our Countrie to prey, spoyle and conquest: to submitte his faith to that Potentate, that hath accursed and giuen our Countrie, their soules to the Devil,

will, and their bodies, landes and possessions to them that can catch them: to beleue or fauour them, that spreade all vile dishonours against our Countrie: to lyke well of his doings, and to holde that he doth no more then he lawfully may do, which being an Alien, a forreine Bishop, shall take vpon him to extend his curse to the Prince of our Countrie, and all the people therof, and that he hath power to discharge the Subiectes of the Realme, from their faith and alleageaunce, and hath authoritie to binde their obedience to whome he will, and is able to giue Heauen to rebellles, that shall venter their liues in wasting and destroying our Countrie: He, I saye, that can yelde his consent to these doings and thinkings, must needes be a Traytour to his Countrie. And such a one is euerie such Englishe Papist as I haue described, and can be none other if he holde the Pope for a true teacher, and haue good opinion of the Popes doctrine and examples.

That clemencie and gentlenesse cannot reclayme them from trayterous mindes, whyle they continue in Papistrie, is as plaine and as true a forme of speeche: as if a man should saye, they must needes be traytours, so long as they remaine full of treason, for treason and Papistrie are vnseperable whyle they be kept vnder, even as crueltye and Papistrie are vnseperable when they are gotten aboue. Surelie, he that regardeth not the highest duetie, will neuer regard the meanest. The duetie of the loue or feare of God, cannot holde a Papist from blasphemie against God. The duetie of faith and alleageaunce to his Prince, cannot keepe a Papist from treason to his Prince. The duetie of deere loue to his naturall Countrie, cannot withdraue a Papist from assenting to, yea, and procuring the spoyle, destruction, bondage, and alienation of the Countrie, as I haue already proued. The duetie of kinde and naturall pittie, cannot stave a Papist from murdering the feeble sere, nor the liellie tender infancie, nor reuerend eldest age. The duetie of familiaritie in youth, of friendship in grauer yeres, of continuall societie

Such an one as alloweth of all these wicked causes, must needes be a traytour to his Countrie.

Clemencie cannot win a Papist whyle he continueth a Papist: speciall examples for England to remember.

A Watch-woord

societie during all the lyfe passed, with heapes of mutuall commodities, cannot pull backe a Papist from immanitie of Sacrificing his dearest frendes. The duetie of honour of Childzen to Parentes, or loue of Parentes to Childzen, remoueth not a Papist from vnnaturall crueltie. The duetie of intire loue and fellowship betwene man and wife, holdeth no place in the heart of a Papist. No duetie of kindred, no estimation of Learning and Vertue, no good respect, that moueth good men to loue and compassion, once toucheth a stubborne Papist.

All dueties of loue, kindred, & nature broken by Papistes,

Example of the Papistes thankfulness to Bishop Cranmer.

Example of the Papistes kindness toward her Maiestie, for the great lyberalitie of her most noble Father.

All these dueties we haue sene broken, yea, neglected and throwne awaye by Papistes. And is there hope that clemencie can so farre winne them, as to holde them in trueth to the Prince, from whome they receyue it: if oportunitie serue to bring them out of her daunger, or her Highnesse into their daunger, which God forbidde? But let vs see a little of their thankfulness. Did euer those Papistes, whose lyues were saued by good Bishoppe Cranmers meanes, who were brought vp, who were defended, who were auanced, who were shielded from harme and perill by him: once requite him with one drop of kindnesse? And yet they spake him sayre in his prosperitie. Quailed the great lyberalitie of King Henrie the eight, to raise vp any kinde remembraunce in Papistes, that were great in Quene Maries dayes: to staye them from the assenting to the captiuitie and daunger, and seeking the blood of his most noble Daughter, our most gracious Soueraigne Lady? And yet during King Henries raigne, they shewed a seruiceable face: as if they would haue spent their bloods, to keepe wrong from him and his, and did serue against Papistrie it selfe, till their treason and Papistrie was ripe to be aduanced. A number like examples of their gentlenesse and kindnesse might be leadged, but because I would be breefe, these few shal serue at this time.

Of like trueth it is, that Papistrise being an Heresie, or rather a bundle made up of an infinite number of Heresies: must needs haue the proper tie of Heresie, to flourish with indulgence and lenitie. We see the lyke example in the sect of Arrians, which vnder hereticall Emperours exceedingly increased: and being once condemned and restrained by punishment, hath worne away to a fewe. So farre as King Henric the eight went in refoyming Religion, which was to abolishe the primacie of Rome out of this Realme (a noble conquest) with certayne grosse Idolatries: did not the severitie of his Lawes, the awe of his person, and the dread of due execution, so holde downe those partes of Papistrise which he suppressed, that they durst not once shewe themselves in his dayes: And yet in the same time, the greivous lawe of sixe Articles made against Gods trueth, and sinisterlie procured by the Popish Clergie, noz yet the earnest inquirie, noz cruell executing of it by Bishoppes and other, could holde downe the trueth of the Gospel: but that it brake out moze and moze vpon them.

Papistrise increaseth and flourisheth by lenity.

Christian trueth respecteth Hea-
uen, and Papistrise
the world.

The reason is, that Papistrise and Christian trueth haue two severall endes: trueth respecteth Heauen, and Papistrise the world. Whereby their adventures and enterprises are commonlie diuers: the Papist dare boldly set vpon any mischeefe, where he hath hope to auance his falsehood: the Christian dare constauntly abide any torment, to giue witness of Gods trueth. And such qualitie of Gods trueth haue the auncient Fathers described, when one of them calleth the blood of Martyres: The water to water Gods Garden, an other sayth: That they encrease with cutting downe, and other in other manner haue expressed the same meaning.

But now being vnder a Christian Prince in dayes of rest (blessed be almightie God, and long preserved be her Maiestie the instrument of it) as it is not meete that Gods Church, after Iulian the Apostataes manner, be persecuted

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Too much clemencie maye be great crueltie.

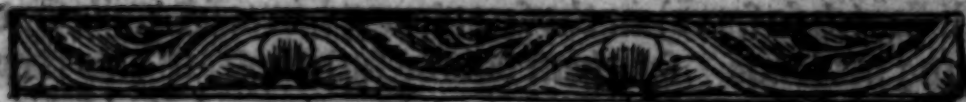
to make it increase, but holden downe with good discipline for manners, that it growe not wilde and runne into wantonnesse: so is not the Church of the Devill to be maintained and multiplied with indulgence, winking and slacknesse of correction, but with good severitie to be restrained, that it growe not to such ranknesse, as to choke the true Church in deede. Mercie may haue her excesse, and clemencie may be great crueltie, when it overfloweth to the good mens daunger.

The other Conclusions that followe, haue great difference from these whereof I haue made some explication, yet haue I not made so large an explication, as trueth is well and easilie able to furnishe, neither can I so well make it, as the expedience of the cause asketh, to giue the vantage of eloquence to the goodnesse of the matter, to helpe to drawe it into credite, and effect of well mouing. But being as it is, rude and true, great cunning and finenesse is the lesse needefull: where those (for whome it is intended) are so wise, as it is farre more easie for naked troth to enforme them, then for any gaie speeche to leade them.

As for the other Conclusions that followe: I neither haue nor will waite so farre in them, because they are matters of consultation and meditation. The effect thereof, which is the safe preservation of the Queenes royall Maiestie and the Realme, the auoiding of daungers that threaten the same, the establisshing of assurednesse, boldnesse, courage, and freedome of her Highnesse most good Counsellours and Subiectes, the taking auauntage of opportunities and occasions, the weeding out of deceiuers and underminers, the defence of her Maiesties honour and dignity, the meanes to aunswer their charge toward God, and namelie, in dealing with men as they be affectioned to or against God.

The effect I saie of these other Conclusions, I knowe do continuallie busie her Maiestie and her most honourable

rable Counsaillours, in thinking on them, and providing
for them: therefore it shall no further occupie me and other
meane Subiectes, then in prayer and readinesse to serue,
as her Maiestie and her Councell shall see fittest to employ
us. It shall suffice me, and so ought it to content all other,
to knowe as we doe knowe, what a wise Prince we haue,
what good Councell she hath chosen, how well they haue
gouerned, what fruite we haue had of it: so as no
thing is left to us, but to giue thanks, to be
ware that our sinnes giue not the occasion
of losse and chaunge, to serue duetie
fullie, and to pray deuoutlie,



The Conclusion.



Thus haue I England briefelie collected such
matters heere together, as if thou heardsfullie
marke, thou mayst make great profite of
them. And in trueth great neede thou hast
to be carefull of them, for Wapstkes were
neuer bolder, nor treason put more in practise, then it hath
beene of late dayes.

Remember that cruell murder in *France* at the mari-
age, when the famous Admirall Shatilion, was so vnnat-
urallie murdered. Remember the late and horrible
murder of the noble Prince of Orange: and let these
teach thee to be more circumspecte to that dangerous
broode.

I could waide into further matters, as to tell thee of ma-
ny other crimes and offences, which thou hast meriti-

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lous néede to looke vnto: but because I entented this present purpose in this first part of my Watch-woord, I desire thee to expect the residue of my determination, as concerning these matters, in my other Booke called The second part of the Watch-woord to England. And for that many malicious tongues haue spoken their pleasures of this former part, because I haue set downe breefe remembrances of former accidents, which the Chronicle and Maister Foxe his Monumentes haue in diuers places touched, and were not so ready to be found out, as being now orderlie collected altogether: for my good will in so doing, I haue sustained their seuerall verdictes, albeit their betters haue neither misliked nor disallowed of any thing in the Booke. Therefore to satisfie their humours (if my poore habilitie will stretch so farre) in the second part hereof I will (God giuing me leaue) set them downe such matters, as they shall not say hath bene borrowed from any, but absolute and sufficient of it selfe. Afterward looke for my Court of Conscience, which I dare a warrant thee to be such a Booke, as thou hast not read the lyke in all thy life, as well for the circumstaunces of the matter, as the worthinesse of the whole in generall: but tyll it come, that thou thy selfe mayst iudge of it, I will briefely desire thee to ioyne in prayer with me, for the good successe of all hapinesse, that may please God to send thee.

Let vs praye, that we may see when those that shall wrest or procure to chaunge Lawe, to erect the courage of any dangerous Tiper to such endes, or to any aspiring hope of preuenting and undermining, vnder what couller, name, pretence, or otherwise, or to the safegarde of their persons that haue so attempted: that they maye be declared, and executed as enimies to the state, and to the Quenes safetie.

Let vs praye, that we may see such Lawes provided for her Highnesse preservation, and the same so executed without restraint or slackenesse for any respect: as the hope

A Booke called
the Court of
Conscience,
which I entend
(God aiding me)
to publish verie
shortly.

God graunt that
such Papistes as
be enimies to

hope of Papists, such as be enemies to God, the Queen and her Maiestie and the Realme, may (if they repent not) be cutte off for ever. the Realme, may be quickly cutte off.

Let vs praye to liue to see, that none may haue place, Office, or accesse into her Maiesties Court nor household, no, nor once into her presence: that shall not be knowne to fauour both God and her, so farre as any circumspection or policie can prouide it.

Let vs praye, that no Office of dignitie, Lawe or Justice, may be in their handes, who do not fauour the Lawe of God, and acknowledge her Maiesties right, that is head of Lawe and Justice in this Realme.

Let vs praye, that her Maiestie and her Councell may haue such particular knowledge of men, that those that haue well deserved, yea, haue and yet do hazard their liues in her Maiesties defence, and haue vtterlie wasted themselves and their frendes in her Maiesties seruice, yet remaining vnrecompenced: that they maye not lose the benefite of their labours, that no euill tongue maye rayse slander to their discredite, but that they may accorde to their good seruice, be effectually and due rewar- ded, the onely meane to encourage other to earnest taking of paines.

Let vs praye, that all such as be her Maiesties enemies maye be weakened, and her faithfull frendes and well-willers strengthened: that all auantages maye be bled for her safetie, and all subtil deuises and practises maye be supplanted.

Wee trust it will be so, for God hath not drawne these late mischances into lyght for nothing. But before all thinges, let vs praye to God to sende vs true repen- taunce, more ioyfull and effectually receiuing of his Gospel, and more and more vertuous ensuing of it: least as we lost our best King with lyuing yll, we lose our best Quene with lyuing worse.

And that therewith it may please him, to direct all the doinges of her Maiestie and her Councell, to procede in
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their good abounding his goods, and p[er]fecting his estate : which without tedious circumstance, he p[er]forming the Queenes most royall personne, cannot be done. And that such good meanes and occasions, as G. D. doth ferreth to that ende, be not refused or neglected : which were to tempt G. D., to forsake his cause, to betray our noble Prince, and to giue away, as rather east along the Realme.

These be the daylie and nightlie prayers of good gentlemen, and while we busie our selves with these prayers, we do, after our principall confidence in Gods goodness, rest our selves vpon the trust of her excellencie, and her most honourable Counsell : for to whom we praye God, and to them we referre the guiding of vs, and ours, ready to followe them when we are commaunded, with the bestermost of our power and perill, knowing how they spare not their uttermost endeuer and perill, with following the most unpleasant life (God knowes) that may be, for our sakes, for our quiet, profit and defence.

(.)

FINIS.

God long preserue and blesse our
Queene *Elizabeth*, and confound all her enemies.

Honos alit Artes.

A. M.

